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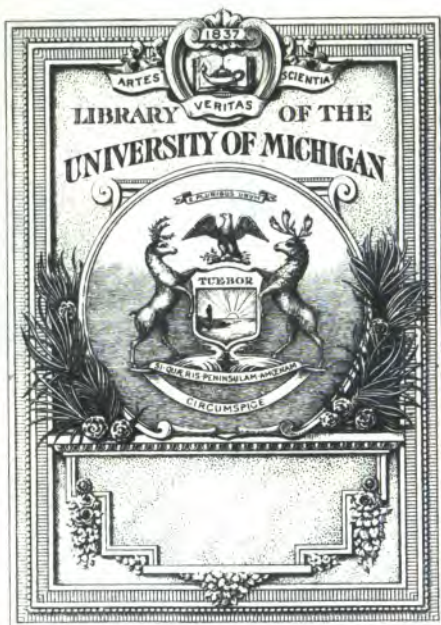
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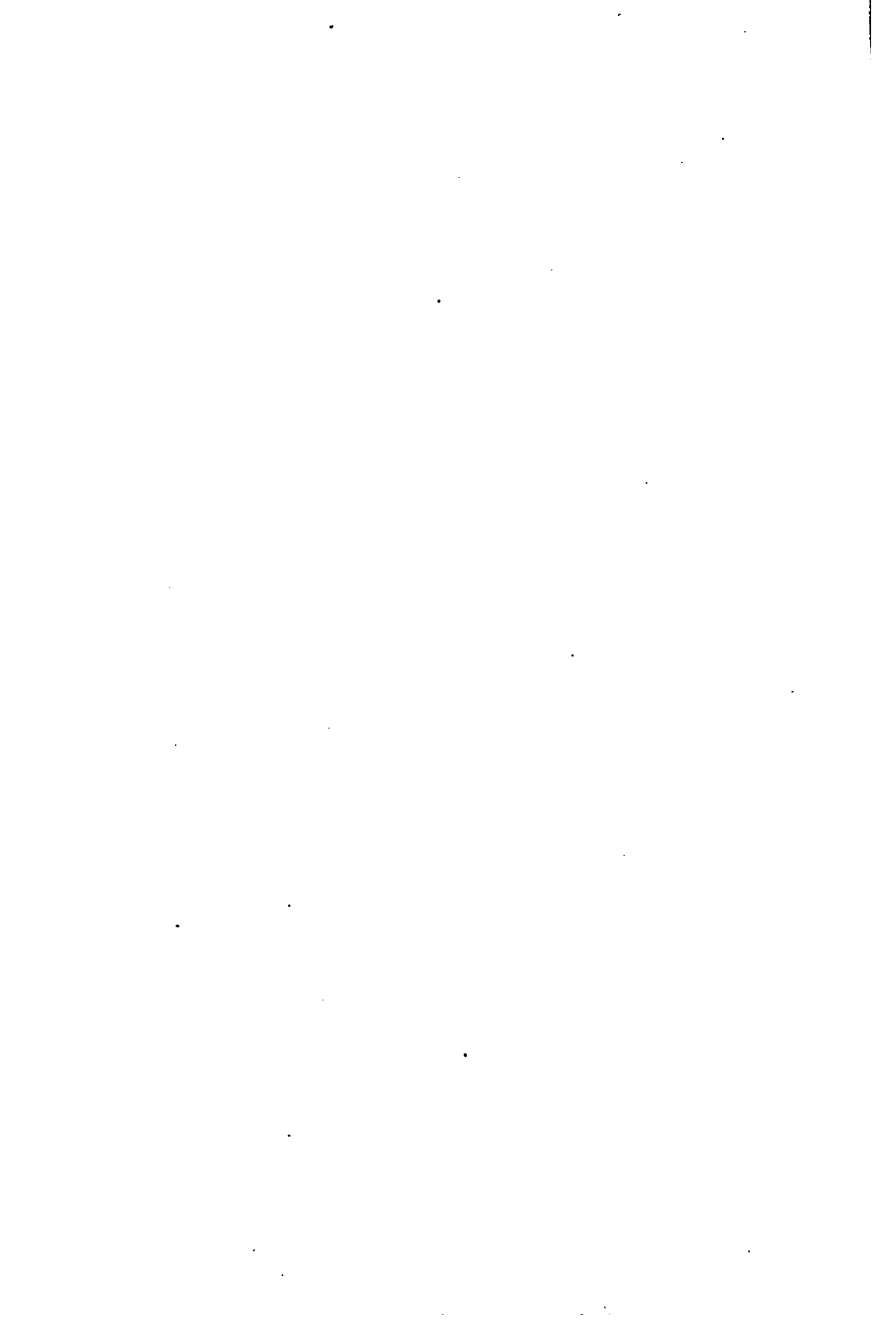


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the Author.



A HISTORY OF
EDUCATION IN INDIANA



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PREFACE.

THE value of a wisely timed and intelligently directed study of the school systems and educational movements in their development is now commonly conceded.

As to scope, the study appears as (1) an inquiry into the growth of public sentiment and educational doctrine, the instruments and means of culture, and the conditions of their use in the larger sense of the world-progress; (2) the like movement as manifested in the history of a particular people, giving rise to views of national education; and (3) a similar inquiry into the conditions and growth of State and other local systems. The present text has to do primarily with this third view, and offers a sketch of the rise and development of education and educational agencies in Indiana, chiefly since 1816.

Whatever other professional fitting teachers do or do not require, they unquestionably need a familiar acquaintance with the genius and limitations and structure, the obligations and privileges, involved in a service under their own system. In our own State this need has been but poorly provided for. Little has heretofore been done to make Indiana's educational record known, or to discover the lines of her progress. With the whole move-

ment the acquaintance is necessarily desultory and partial. The small volume edited by Dr. James H. Smart, in 1876, the biographies of our State Superintendents, prepared by H. M. Skinner, and issued by the department, together with occasional miscellanies in official reports and in the proceedings of the Teachers' Association, comprise about all that has been done to trace the growth of Indiana along educational lines.

Moreover, the system of Indiana is a typical one, its leading features having been adopted, in forty years, in perhaps more than two thirds of the States since organized, and in the educational reorganization of others. Its central control of funds and revenues; its county supervision and township management; the State direction of all professional examinations, of institutes and teachers' reading circles; and the integration of the several public agencies for elementary, secondary, and superior training—have a reputation with, and have claimed the interest and attention of, teachers and school officials, and others concerned with education, in adjoining States as well.

This book is the published result of a series of lectures annually given to members of the Pedagogical Department in Indiana University since 1886. It has grown in material and form, under the inspiration of the class-room. For many of the facts of personal and local significance the author is indebted to records obtained through the interest and courtesy of students, and their knowledge of details.

Great credit—the largest credit—is due to the State Educational department for the statistics of the system, historical documents, early records, and much summary matter that could not have been obtained elsewhere.

Special mention also should be made of the very valuable and frequent and cheerful service rendered by Mr. J. P. Dunn, of the State Library, in putting at the writer's disposal files of State papers and numerous addresses and personal documents there collected.

Among the most helpful and suggestive sources, further, were the private library and rich collection of papers (some reaching back to 1830) and journals, belonging to Hon. Horace P. Biddle, of Logansport, which were repeatedly consulted.

Perhaps the most frequent drafts upon both time and materials were of Judge D. D. Banta, of the Indiana University Law School, whose collection of materials concerning the early and recent history of public and local institutional life in Indiana is very full and well selected. Not only was this kindly put at the disposal of the author, but frequent and helpful use was made of the judge's well-known interest in and large acquaintance with the social movements that have built up our Indiana school system.

To all of these the thanks of the author are due, and gratefully extended in this public way.

Moreover, the gathering of materials has involved the writing of hundreds of letters; and but for the generous aid of county and city superintendents and teachers throughout the State, college men and school officials, and numbers of other persons both in private and public life, the volume, if written, would have been in many ways incomplete. The service of such has been constantly remembered and appreciated.

There will doubtless be found by individual readers inaccuracies in the book, and omissions, both of fact and statement, though every effort has been made to verify all

material points by reference to the original records. Any suggestions or corrections will be gratefully received and acknowledged, especially as touching the system of the early days, and the old seminaries and academies.

RICHARD G. BOONE.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY, *January, 1891.*

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PART FIRST.

THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

TERRITORIAL ACTS.

ANY sketch of education in Indiana, however brief, would be incomplete if it failed to make clear an exposition of the origin of the earliest educational ideas of the State, and the conditions and means of their development into institutions through established systems.

A study of the period is important as fixing the boundaries of our territory, determining the lines of settlement, the conditions of our later system, particularly as to funds, and the obligation of the State concerning education. Its consideration falls under the following heads :

1. A Province of Virginia.
2. A Possession of the United States.
3. The Ordinance of 1787.
4. The Organization of Indiana Territory.
5. The Federal Enabling Act.

1. A Province of Virginia.

Being a portion of the old Northwest Territory, Indiana shares with other parts of it in the provisions for general and superior education. So important has been the influence of the congressional act providing for the government of this Territory, and so far-reaching the effects upon schools and their means of support—in five States directly, in others

incidentally, and in Indiana particularly—that, both as an introduction to the subsequent study of our school system, and to preserve in their connections all the links to the chain, a paragraph is here inserted setting forth the main facts, chiefly historical, in the organization of Indiana Territory.

Portions of the section had been occupied by settlers—generally French, sometimes English—for almost a century; but immediately upon the close of the Revolutionary War steps were taken for the disposition of the territories lying to the west of the “Colonies,” and their erection into a governed and organized part of the national domain. In 1760 the territory passed into the hands of the English, and by treaty of 1783 (November 3d) it was transferred to the United States, along with all other English possessions within the treaty limits. Its particular ownership was vested in the Commonwealth of Virginia, except a claim to a small section in northeastern Ohio, held by Connecticut. Within less than two months (December 20, 1783) the Legislature of Virginia had passed “an act to authorize the delegates of Virginia in Congress to convey to the United States, in Congress assembled, all the right of this Commonwealth to the territory northwestward of the river Ohio.”

2. A Possession of the United States.

In accordance with this act of the Virginia Assembly the territory was, on March 1, 1784, transferred by deed to the United States. The deed was signed by Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee, and James Monroe—the aforementioned delegates to Congress from Virginia. The cession comprised the lands now included in the States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, besides so much of Minnesota as lies east of the Mississippi River, and covered 265,562 square miles. Two months later (April 23, 1784) a temporary organization for the new territory was adopted by Congress, but it included no provision touching schools or education.

"Few statesmen of that day," says a recent writer,* "valued this territory for the almost unlimited possibilities it afforded for the future greatness of the nation, in the establishment of new States which in wealth and influence and power would soon rival their older sisters. If this thought had found place in the minds of any, it was generally subordinated to a far less exalted sentiment." Vacant Western lands were chiefly valuable as they could be readily turned into cash to meet current expenses and overdue obligations to the army and other creditors. In general it may be said that provisions for the education of possible Western settlements were an afterthought.

3. The Ordinance of 1787.

A month later, the subject having been repeatedly before Congress already, Thomas Jefferson, chairman of a committee having it in consideration, reported to Congress a bill respecting the disposition of public lands in general, including the recent cession from Virginia. The Western lands were looked upon at the close of the war as a possible means of resources for the payment of urgent claims against the Government, and a means of meeting current expenses. It was desirable to find some reliable method of locating and disposing of them to prospective settlers. This was the purpose of the bill. In it, however, no reference is made either to schools or education.

The year following, Jefferson having left his seat in Congress, a like committee reported another bill, with the provision that "surveyors should divide the Territory into townships of six miles square, by lines running north, and others crossing at right angles as near as may be; † that the plats of the townships respectively shall be marked by subdivisions into lots one mile square, or 640 acres, in the same direction

* George W. Knight, Ph. D., *Land Grants for Education in the Northwest Territory*, p. 10.

† This was the origin of "rectangular surveys," now in common use.

as the external lines, and numbered from 1 to 36 ; and that there shall be reserved the lot numbered 16* of every township for the maintenance of public schools, and the one immediately adjoining the same, to the northward, for the support of religion."

This was in February, 1785. After prolonged discussion, covering many months, frequent amendments, and several changes in the membership of the committee, the clause referring to the reservation of a section of land in each township for the support of religion was stricken out ; and on the 20th of May, 1785, the bill as amended, bearing the same title as Jefferson's bill of the previous year, was passed.

For its more liberal provisions, especially those concerning education, we are perhaps indebted to Colonel Timothy Pickering. Early in the following year the permanent organization of this large territory was a frequent theme of discussion, but resulted in no settled plans. In the spring of 1787 the whole matter was referred to a new committee that revised the bill, and added among other provisions a clause that has since become historical concerning education. This was finally passed on the 13th of July, as "An ordinance for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio," then and now known as the "Ordinance of 1787."

The final committee, serving from May, 1787, consisted of Samuel Johnson, of Connecticut, Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, William Smith, of Pennsylvania, Nathan Dane, and Patrick Henry. Of the text of the ordinance Nathan Dane is said to have been the author, though Dr. Manasseh Cutler is entitled to the credit of suggesting the clause touching education and religion. The provision of the "Ordinance of 1785," concerning the reservation for schools, was confirmed in all subsequent legislation regulating the sale of public lands ; but it is not mentioned in the "Ordinance of 1787."

* "Lot" 16 was first called "Section 16," May 18, 1796.

This latter document provided for a division of the territory into civil districts ; the descent and conveyance of property ; the appointment and election of officers ; representation in the General Assembly ; and, in six numbered articles, for—

1. Freedom of worship and belief.
2. The safe and reasonable execution of the law.
3. Schools—declaring that “religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind—schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged” ; and the just and considerate treatment of Indians.
4. The levying of taxes.
5. The final division of the territory into States.
6. The exclusion of slavery.

The act, in whatever way it may be viewed, but especially as to the support of, and encouragement accorded to, education, and the social conditions for its promotion, was one of wise and comprehensive provisions. “We are accustomed,” said Daniel Webster, “to praise the lawgivers of antiquity ; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus ; but I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the ‘Ordinance of 1787.’” “Never, probably, in the history of the world,” said Chief Justice Chase, “did a measure of legislation so accurately fulfill, and yet so mightily exceed, the anticipation of the legislators.”

Conditioning the character of social and political institutions ; in a general way, but emphatically, prescribing and proscribing industries, and erecting new standards of conduct and life, its educational implications were even more decisive and determining. The generous policy couched in the terms of this unpretentious “ordinance,” resting upon a Federal interest in education and initiated by the needs of a section, has extended its benefits and its influence to every subsequent State and Territory. In the Southwest and far

West education has been remembered in the reservation of one or more sections in each township, after the manner of the ordinance for the government of the Northwest. The principle has been recognized both in spirit and letter in every new State admitted (except West Virginia) since the passage of the congressional act.

Certainly the full force of the ordinance was not understood, either by its framers or its supporters. The most wise among them all could not have been aware of the far-reaching benefits to accrue to the Government and to individuals from a free soil dedicated to virtue, to learning, and to industry. Nevertheless, they builded well. "In the breadth of its conceptions," it has been said, "in its details and results, the ordinance has been perhaps the most notable instance of legislation that was ever enacted by the representatives of the American people. It fixed forever the character of the immigration, and of the social, political, and educational institutions of the people who were to inhabit this imperial territory."

4. The Organization of Indiana Territory.

By an act of Congress, approved May 7, 1800, it was provided in section 1: "That all that part of the territory of the United States, northwest of the Ohio River, which lies westward of a line beginning at the Ohio, opposite to the mouth of the Kentucky River, and running thence to Fort Recovery, and thence north until it shall intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purpose of temporary government, constitute a separate Territory, and be called the Indiana Territory."

It was also provided by section 6 of the same act that "Saint Vincennes, on the Wabash River," should be the seat of government for this Territory. Ohio was admitted into the Union as a State in 1802, and in 1804 Indiana Territory, as described above, and comprising all that then remained of the "Old Northwest," was given by Federal authority three land-offices—one at Detroit, one at Vincennes, and one

at Kaskaskia. This was really the official act opening the Territory for settlement. And immigrants soon came.

A settlement, or rather a simple French military post, had been located on the present site of Vincennes in 1702 by one of the officers of Louis XIV and his men. Within fifty years various other posts for trading and defense were established, along the Wabash chiefly, by French Catholics. In 1760 the territory passed into the hands of the English. At this time there were perhaps something more than a hundred French families throughout the whole of Indiana.

Immediately English garrisons were placed at the trading posts, but English settlements were prohibited by proclamation beyond (west of) the Alleghany Mountains. This policy was maintained during the British control of the territory. In 1778, through the negotiations of Colonel G. R. Clark, at Vincennes, with the French settlement, the settlers' oath of allegiance was taken, the Territory included in what is now Indiana brought under the American flag, and after February, 1779, held as a dependency of Virginia.

The treaty of Greenville (1795), negotiated by General Wayne with the hostile tribes, really first opened Indiana to permanent and comparatively safe settlement. Twelve months afterward the records show, besides Vincennes, but two other settlements—one near what is now Lawrenceburg, and another in Clark County. Within five years the population of the territory had increased to 4,875. Through the influence of the land-offices, opened in 1804 and 1807, and the more settled state of affairs, the population in 1810 amounted to 24,520 ; and before statehood was assumed, in 1816, this had been trebled.

By the same act, noted above, establishing the land-offices, the Secretary of State was authorized to set apart a township of land,* near Vincennes, to be used in founding a college.

* This was located, October 10, 1806, in Gibson County, and surveyed 23,040 acres. (Sec p. 15.)

Three years later (1807) a fourth land-office was located and opened at Jeffersonville (a town had been laid out five years before). In 1805 Michigan was organized into a separate Territory, and in 1809 Illinois. This left Indiana with its present boundaries and two land-offices. Settlements were making and institutions forming. Nevertheless, its entire population was not more than twenty-five thousand. It had grist, lumber, and powder mills to the number of fifty; tanneries, looms, and spinning-wheels; textile machines and shops; and an occasional school.

On the new frontier, and so far removed from the centers of civilization, the formal agencies for education are always at a disadvantage. Some things must be done, and schools have many substitutes. The family life, the exactions of labor, and neighborhood relations are themselves educative. Besides, in such communities there are few children. M. Rivet at Vincennes about 1793, a chance teacher in Clark County ten years after, and Mrs. Julia L. Dumont in Vevay from about 1813, included most that can be said of the teachers of Indiana during its territorial history. In 1804 one township of land was set apart in each of the land districts for the use of a seminary, that for the Vincennes district being located in Gibson County. The land was put upon the market in 1807, and soon after the seminary was opened.

5. The Federal Enabling Act of 1816.

Within five years (1815) the population had almost trebled, and the Territory (December 14, 1815) was seeking recognition as a State. To this end a bill was early introduced into Congress, and, having passed both houses, was approved, April 19, 1816, as "an act to enable the people of Indiana Territory to form a constitution and State government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on equal footing with the original States." Section 6 of this act comprised five propositions submitted to the Indiana Territorial Convention for acceptance or rejection, and which were the conditions of statehood.

The two paragraphs of these provisions that have to do with education, and so chiefly concern this discussion, were but carrying out the spirit of the "Ordinance of 1787" and the letter of the resolutions of 1785, and were as follows :

1. That the section numbered sixteen in every township, and when such section has been sold, granted, or disposed of, other lands equivalent thereto, and most contiguous to the same, shall be granted to the inhabitants of such township* for the use of schools.

4. That one entire township, which shall be designated by the President of the United States, in addition to the one heretofore reserved for that purpose, shall be reserved for the use of a seminary of learning, and vested in the Legislature of the said State, to be appropriated solely to the use of such seminary by the said Legislature.

These and the accompanying conditions, submitted to the Convention, were, on the 10th day of June, 1816, accepted, at Corydon ; and the State has since, by that act, received for the benefits of learning 576,000 acres of land—the cornerstone of our school fund, and the guarantee of our State system.

* This has been officially interpreted as meaning that the title to these lands does not rest in the State, but in "the inhabitants of such township"; and that the State may neither sell the lands nor appropriate the proceeds to its own use. This decision rendered by the Supreme Court gives the ground for a separate "Congressional Township Fund," as distinguished from the "Common-School Fund." (See p. 214; also 4 Stat., 293.)

PART SECOND.

UNDER THE FIRST CONSTITUTION.

CHAPTER II.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND FIRST LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS.

1. Article IX of the Constitution.

AT the State Convention held at Corydon, June 10 to June 29, 1816, just referred to, and of which Jonathan Jennings, delegate from Clark County, was President, a Constitution was adopted, in twelve articles, of which the ninth was devoted to education, as follows :

“SEC. 1. Knowledge and learning, generally diffused through a community, being essential to the preservation of a free Government, and spreading the opportunities and advantages of education through the various parts of the country being highly conducive to this end, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide by law for the improvement of such lands as are, or hereafter may be, granted by the United States to this State for the use of schools, and to apply any funds which may be raised from such lands, or from any other quarter, to the accomplishment of the grand object for which they are or may be intended. But no lands granted for the use of schools or seminaries of learning shall be sold, by authority of this State, prior to the year eighteen hundred and twenty; and the moneys which may be raised out of the sale of any such lands, or otherwise obtained for the purpose aforesaid, shall be and remain a fund for the exclusive purpose of promoting the interest of liter-

ature and the sciences, and for the support of seminaries and public schools. The General Assembly shall from time to time pass such laws as shall be calculated to encourage intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvements, by allowing rewards and immunities, for the promotion and improvement of the arts, sciences, commerce, manufactures, and natural history; and to countenance and encourage the principles of humanity, honesty, industry, and morality.

"SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a State University, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all.

"SEC. 3. And, for the promotion of such salutary end, the money which shall be paid as an equivalent by persons exempt from militia duty, except in times of war, shall be exclusively and in equal proportion applied to the support of county seminaries; also, all fines assessed for any breach of the penal laws shall be applied to said seminaries in the counties wherein they shall be assessed.

"SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to form a penal code founded on the principles of reformation, and not of vindictive justice; and also to provide one or more farms, to be an asylum for those persons who, by reason of age or infirmity or other misfortunes, may have a claim upon the aid and beneficence of society, on such principles that such persons may therein find employment and every reasonable comfort, and lose by their influence the degrading sense of dependence.

"SEC. 5. The General Assembly, at the time they lay off a new county, shall cause at least ten per cent to be reserved out of the proceeds of the sale of town lots, in the seat of justice of such county, for the use of a public library for such county; and at the same session they shall incorporate a library company, under such rules and regulations as will best secure its permanence and extend its benefits."

The entire article is one of rare excellence, and suffers nothing in comparison with the later and more familiar paragraphs in the Constitution of 1851. Its provisions are worthy of the most critical study. In the first place it is noticeable that the basis of the free-schools idea was purely secular. "The preservation of a free Government" is made the sole ground for encouraging the diffusion of knowledge and learning, and spreading the opportunities and advantages of education through the States. Not only was the system to be a public one, but it was meant to be a State-controlled, centrally-administered organization. The sale of lands, the scope of the school, the provision of funds, the care of dependents, and the founding of libraries were recognized in the article as legitimate objects of the State's interest. The creation of a permanent fund, through the anticipated sales of congressional township lands, was provided for, and the principle of the State's obligation to the localities further confirmed.

As to the system, the plan was a generous one, comprising schools of every grade, from the township or neighborhood school through county seminaries, to and including the university; all articulated into a single enterprise, and uniformly administered. It was, moreover, to be uniformly available. Greatly wanting as was the State's practice in subsequent years, Indiana was, in theory at least, saved from the blunder into which most other States fell at some time, in the establishment of "pauper schools." Under the Constitution of 1816 the means and privileges of instruction were meant to be equally available to all. Further, it was intended that attendance upon the schools should be without charge. If it be remembered that this was the expression of a pioneer people fifty years before schools were generally free in New England, much less in the West, in a country where life was a battle with the elements and luxuries were unknown, the greatness and liberality of the plan are emphasized. Other than free schools are the creation of other than free people only. But "all classes" with these early set-

tlers meant or was made to include the defective and dependent classes as well. Homes, asylums, and schools for these were then almost unknown in all this land; but with wise forethought the care of them—more than that, their education—was made an interest of the State, and in time, under its provisions, such schools were established. Finally, let it be noted that the State's responsibility included not learning in the arts and sciences alone, but extended to intelligently directed industries, and the promotion of "humanity, honesty, and morality." It was the Ordinance of 1787 translated into Western institutions.

Governor Jennings, in his first message to the State Legislature in 1816, urged upon the members of both bodies the necessity of immediate steps to carry out the requirements of Article IX of the Constitution, enforcing his thought by the statement that "the dissemination of useful knowledge will be indispensably necessary as a support to morals and a restraint to vice." Legislative attention was thus formally and officially called to the plan of education as prescribed by the Constitution, but no specific or detailed recommendations were offered. A like general but somewhat indefinite and more or less perfunctory concern had been manifested by Governor Posey in his message to the Territorial Legislature the previous year. But no intelligent and burning interest is apparent. The conditions of physical and political life were urgent. Settlements were sparse, resources meager, and life necessitous. Institutions of every sort were founded at a disadvantage. What could wait, must wait. There was easy room for mistake.

How to realize the ideal set up by the Constitution—"a system of education ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a State university, wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all"—was an educational problem, an attempt at whose solution was prolonged, with more or less of vigor but with only doubtful success, for a generation. It still resulted in no system, tuition was not

free, and schools were not, and were not generally expected to be, freely or equally open to all.

Nevertheless, among the States, the attitude of Indiana upon the question of education as fixed in the Constitution is an honorable one.

Five States—Pennsylvania and North Carolina in 1776, Vermont the year following, Massachusetts in 1780, and New Hampshire in 1784, all during the heat of the Revolution—had included in their first constitutions references to learning and provisions for education in some form or other. For the most part, both references and provisions were general and ineffective. In each of the five States named the Legislature was required to provide “a school or schools,” and to encourage and promote “all useful learning in academies and universities.” Pennsylvania and Vermont required “a school in each county.” Permanent funds were to be conserved. All existing instrumentalities were to be used. But in the six other States forming their constitutions in this (the Revolutionary) period—New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, South Carolina, and New York—and in Kentucky and Tennessee, first admitted as States thereafter (1792 and 1796, respectively), no constitutional reference is made to either education or schools.

Ohio, in 1802, incorporated some very general provisions, couched in negative language, however, against excluding any of her citizens from those schools having congressional endowment, and against the misappropriation of her public funds. Louisiana, admitted ten years after, ignores the entire subject of public education in her Constitution.*

Having due regard, therefore, for the best thought of the earlier constitutions upon public education, the precedents for Indiana were neither specific nor encouraging. Education in most States, and particularly outside of New England, was either a private interest or the subject of local and

* For an extended treatment of this subject, see a monograph by B. A. Hinsdale, Ph. D., *Education in the State Constitutions*.

special enactments. Section 2, quoted above, was unique in constitutional literature. "Previous to Indiana, no State had, in its Constitution, declared for a graduated system of schools extending from the district schools to the university, equally open to all on the basis of gratuitous instruction." The step was not only forward, but along a new line. A State-controlled system, graduated to the need of all ages, and equally free and open to all classes, was made organic in the first Constitution of the Commonwealth of Indiana.

2. *Vincennes University.*

By an act of Congress approved March 26, 1804, the Secretary of the Treasury was instructed to locate in each of the three land districts into which Indiana Territory was then set off one entire township, or thirty-six sections of land, to be appropriated to the use of a seminary of learning.

A township was selected October 10, 1806, in Gibson County, and on November 29th of the same year the Territorial Legislature passed an "act to incorporate an university in Indiana Territory." The tract selected included 23,040 acres of the best land then available. Twenty-three trustees were immediately appointed, who, on December 6th following, organized with General William Henry Harrison as president. The board was empowered to sell 4,000 acres of the township, and to acquire and to hold not to exceed 100,000 acres.

The land was sold, and out of the proceeds a brick building was erected at a cost of about \$6,000. The institution was formally organized by the opening of a preparatory or "grammar" school in 1810. Rev. Samuel Scott was the first president or principal, and remained in charge until 1823.

The legislative act creating the university is interesting as an historical paper, and rich in suggestion of the educational sentiment of the State eighty-four years ago. In the preamble it appears that: "Whereas the independence, happiness, and energy of every republic depends (under the

influence of the destinies of Heaven) upon the wisdom, virtue, talents, and energy of its citizens and rulers; and whereas science, literature, and the liberal arts contribute in an eminent degree to improve those qualities and acquirements; and whereas learning hath ever been found the ablest advocate of genuine liberty, the best supporter of rational religion, and the source of the only solid and imperishable glory which nations can acquire; and forasmuch as literature and philosophy furnish the most useful and pleasing occupations, improving and varying the enjoyments of prosperity affording relief under the pressure of misfortune, and hope and consolation in the hour of death; and considering that in a commonwealth where the humblest citizen may be elected to the highest public offices, and where the heaven-born prerogative of the right to elect and reject is retained and secured to the citizens, the knowledge which is requisite for a magistrate and elector should be widely diffused."

In addition to some incidental stipulations concerning the organization of the institution, the act further provided for a liberal course of study in the following words: "For the instruction of youth in the Latin, Greek, French, and English languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, ancient and modern history, moral philosophy, logic, rhetoric, and the law of nature and nations; that it shall be the duty of the said president and professors to instruct and give lectures to the said students of the University, according to such plan of education as the said trustees may approve and direct, in the branches above mentioned."

It was a generous plan and not greatly marred, as might have been expected, by the sordid motive on the one hand, or the utilitarian colorings of poverty on the other. It was to be for that day truly a college of "liberal arts" and a school of philosophy. It was the most western high-grade institution, and the only one for many years. Whatever the school might or did fail to do or actually do, its plan of organization as conceived by the Legislature was large and liberal. Besides the school of arts and languages set forth,

it was further required, in terms given below, that the trustees should, at their discretion and as circumstances would allow, establish a school in each of the three learned professions, a school for girls, a grammar or preparatory school, and, finally, make the advantages of the institution available for the education of the Indians as well as the whites. It was the "grammar school" mentioned here that was first organized and opened in 1810. Notwithstanding the trustees were required "to use their utmost endeavors to induce the aborigines to send their children to the university for education," and were authorized to clothe and maintain as well as educate them "at the expense of the institution," but few Indians seem to have been attracted to the school. The motive was good ; out of all proportion to the achievement.

In the same spirit of large-hearted benevolence, and a charity that was in no wise common for the time, it was further enacted "that no particular tenets of religion shall be taught in the university by the president and professors mentioned." The school was to be made equally available and acceptable to patrons of any creed or no creed. Indeed, touching the education of girls, the responsibility of the State for the higher as well as elementary training of her subjects, the support of professional schools, and the secularization of learning, the Vincennes University Act was surprisingly modern.

Of course it can readily be seen that for such an institution's support there would be required the avails of more than a township of land. Endowments were not to be thought of, and general taxation was equally out of the question. There would be tuition fees ; but, with the most favorable conditions and the largest attendance, the total receipts from this source would be inadequate to the realization of a tithe of what was planned in the original and very generous act of incorporation. As usual, the Legislature was (theoretically) equal to the emergency. It was therefore ordered: "That, for the support of the aforesaid institu-

tion and for the purpose of procuring the necessary philosophical and experimental apparatus, there shall be raised a sum not exceeding twenty thousand dollars by a lottery, to be carried into operation as speedily as may be after the passage of this act, and that the trustees of the said university shall appoint five discreet persons, either of their body or other persons, to be managers of said lottery, each of whom shall give security, to be approved of by said trustees, in such sum as they may direct, conditioned for the faithful discharge of the duty required of said managers; and the said managers shall have power to adopt such schemes as they may deem proper to sell the tickets, and to superintend the drawing of the same and the payment of the prizes; and that as often as the managers shall receive one thousand dollars, they shall deposit the same in the hands of the treasurer of the said board of trustees; and the said managers and trustees shall render an account of their proceedings therein at the next session of the Legislature after the drawing of the said lottery."*

However such a policy might be condemned to-day, the lottery was a common mode of raising funds less than a hundred years ago in all sections of the country and for every conceivable purpose. Church debts were so paid, libraries established, city streets improved, institutions endowed, benevolences extended, and college and professional schools built if not supported. The Legislature of Indiana in 1806-'7 was no exception to the class of legislative and deliberative bodies of the period. Vincennes University was only an object of its solicitude. It appears that the lottery was really never drawn, and so the institution was deprived of one considerable revenue.†

* Indiana Territorial Laws, 1806-'7.

† It is interesting to find that in the proceedings of the same session of the Assembly (see Laws of Indiana Territory for 1806-'7, published by authority of the Legislature) appears an "act for the prevention of vice and immorality," in which all lotteries, whether public or private, are prohibited when for individual use.

The school, opened in 1810, included, besides the usual secondary subjects, something also of the languages and higher mathematics, and represented the best learning of the West. Its faculty was small, and its material resources even more inadequate. Its support came almost entirely from the fees of students. At best, it made learning a sort of luxury that could be enjoyed by the thrifty only.

About 1823, and shortly after the retirement of President Scott, the university having suspended for want of funds, the remainder of the Gibson County township was appropriated by the State and sold, and the proceeds turned over to the State Seminary at Bloomington, established under an act of the Legislature of 1820, and opened in 1824. For fifteen years (1823-'38) there was no school, the building being for a time the seat of Knox County Seminary; but, by the authority of the Legislature in 1846 (the trustees having reorganized and taken steps to reopen the school), suit was brought against the State for the recovery of the property. The case was appealed from the local courts to the Supreme Court of the State, and finally to the Supreme Court of the United States, where in 1854 judgment was rendered in favor of the Vincennes institution for \$66,585, which, leaving out costs and attorney's and agent's fees, left the university about \$40,000.*

CHAPTER III.

ATTEMPTS AT SCHOOL SYSTEMS.

OCCASIONAL attempts at legislation had been made even during the territorial period to provide for the schools by enactments concerning school-lands, the appointment of officers, and the regulation of leases. Of course, even these prudentials were important, and so not to be ignored. They

* See Higher Education in Indiana, by J. A. Woodburn, Ph. D., 1891.

must necessarily receive the first attention. There could be no system without a constant, assured supply of general funds. Only so is to be explained the first generation's anxious and perennial concern for school lands, leases, salt springs, fees, salaries, loans, and interest. These must be conserved and improved as a means to any sort, even the simplest, most unpretentious, of public schools contemplated in the congressional grants.

In 1808 it had been provided that school-lands might be leased, at the discretion of the county courts, for a period in each instance not to exceed five years, the lessee being required to put under cultivation not less than ten acres in each quarter-section. Two years later these courts were required to appoint "Trustees of School-Lands," one to each township; the lease was limited to one hundred and sixty acres, and the destruction of timber prohibited.

The schools, in whose interest these lands had been appropriated, were yet to be. Among all of the State's affairs these received but incidental attention. Communities throughout the Territory were disturbed and endangered by the presence and depredations of Indians. Governor Harrison's message to the Legislature in 1810 betrays a solicitude that every resource, even the schools, should be made to contribute to the public safety and industrial prosperity of his people. He said: "Let me earnestly recommend to you that, in the system of education which you may establish, the military branch may not be forgotten. Let the masters of the inferior schools be obliged to qualify themselves, and instruct their pupils in the military evolutions; while the university,* in addition to those exercises, may have attached to it a professorship of tactics, in which all the sciences connected with the art of war may be taught." In support of his suggestion, it was further urged that such training would "afford healthy exercise and amusement to the youth, inspire

* Referring to Vincennes University, opened 1810, and of whose board of trustees Governor Harrison was president.

them with patriotic sentiments, furnish the militia with a succession of recruits, all of them habituated to the performance of military evolutions, and some of them with considerable attainments in the higher branches of tactics." This was directly after the founding of the United States Military Academy at West Point, and some years prior to its efficient administration.

Most social and institutional life is at a disadvantage in pioneer settlements—most of all, perhaps, schools and other direct and incidental means of culture. The wisdom and the reason of the appeal only emphasized the embarrassment of the situation. Not only were schools few and education and the means of general culture at a discount, but the great need of the people for liberal training was obscured by more immediate wants and pressing dangers.

Subsequent territorial assemblies were reminded in official documents of the importance of the interest and the urgency of the call for schools, but without any practical steps in achievement. In 1816, after the assumption of statehood and in the atmosphere of the new Constitution, an attempt was made by the Legislature, resulting in a vaguely permissive and wholly inefficient law, to organize a system of common elementary schools. The official before known as "Trustee of School Lands" was designated "Superintendent of School Section"; the period of lease was extended to seven years, and provision made for further improving the arable lands. It was confidently expected that these sections would yield such revenue as to justify an early opening of schools throughout all the settled districts. To this end it was provided by the same act of 1816 that, upon petition of twenty householders in any township, there might be ordered an election, at which three trustees should be chosen to manage the schools of the township. They were given unlimited power, but neither money nor other resources.

Theoretically, public sentiment conceded to education every advantage, and lamented the paucity of material re-

sources which impeded or thwarted all attempts to realize that advantage. Public spirit was not wanting to support every reasonable measure for general schooling.

By the second General Assembly was passed the epoch-making and now (for Indiana) historical "Seminary Law of 1818," in accordance with which it was the duty of the Governor to appoint for each county a "Seminary Trustee." This officer was instructed to accumulate and invest funds arising from exemption moneys and fines, as provided in section 3, Article IX, of the Constitution, and looking to the establishment of a high-grade secondary school in each county that should receive pupils from the township schools and fit them for the university.

From all this, however, came neither a system of schools nor any individual teaching of note. In a few communities, it should be said, education was not neglected. An efficient school had been opened at Vincennes, twenty years before (1793), by M. Rivet, a French missionary—"a polite, well-educated, and liberal-minded enthusiast, banished to this country by the French Revolution." A similar school was that of Mrs. Julia Dumont, teacher and poet, in Vevay, about 1813, and one in Charlestown, Clark County, at least ten years earlier. In the files of the Vincennes Sun, published during the early period, advertisements are found, or other occasional mention, of "Thompson's School" (1809), "Scribner's Female Academy" (1817), "Jean Jean's School," "Mr. Bennet's School," and "Mr. Tillinghast's Academy," all in 1818; and "Mrs. Wood's School," which was announced as "reopened" in 1819. Besides these, about the only other requiring mention, as having existed prior to 1820, was one in Evansville, opened in 1818, by a Mr. Shute, and maintained for several years.

Schools then, and long afterward, were all private, as those named, or domestic. If called public, they were still supported by fees from pupils. Though the house was in such case sometimes furnished by the community, or by moneys from school lands, the cost of tuition was met by

private means. Nowhere were the schools free.* There was no system ; whether schools of any sort were kept up depended upon the locality, or the interest of an enterprising individual. State control was little.

The first systematic effort to establish a plan for State schools appears in the law of 1824. Five years had elapsed since the adoption of the Constitution. The population had almost trebled.† Immigration continued. Internal improvements were urged. But the State was in debt ; bankruptcy, through unwise management of the local capital and the Federal deposit, had depreciated, and the public credit was greatly injured. Among the dark days of Indiana was the year of 1821. Trade was depressed, crops had been poor, and the taxes were delinquent. The financial embarrassments of the State, and the unsettled condition of social interests generally, gave little promise of any large concern for education or the schools.

Nevertheless, by the State Legislature of that year, a committee of seven was appointed, as provided by the following joint resolution, approved January 9, 1821, for the promotion of education : "Whereas the General Assembly of Indiana are deeply impressed with the importance of knowledge and learning being diffused through the rising generation of the State of Indiana, therefore, Be it enacted, etc., . . . that John Badolet and David Hart, of Knox County, William W. Martin, of Washington County, James Welch, of Switzerland County, Daniel S. Caswell, of Franklin County, Thomas C. Searle, of Jefferson County, and John Todd, of Clark County, be and they are hereby appointed a committee to draft and report to the next General Assembly of this State a bill providing for a general system of education ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a State university, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and

* This was scarcely more true of Indiana then, and for many years later, than of other States, West and East.

† In 1820 it was 147,148 ; in 1825, 250,000.

equally open to all ; and particularly to guard against any distinctions existing in any of the said institutions between the rich and the poor."

The significance of the last clause appears in the peculiar educational notions and social standards prevalent at that time. The Literary Fund of Virginia had just been set apart (1810), as had that of Georgia, also (1817), for the exclusive benefit of the poor. New Jersey about the same date legalized township taxation "for the education of paupers"; and Ohio, but a few days before the appointment of the Indiana committee, had, in an otherwise liberal act, provided for schools, "open first to the needy and dependent, then, if means and accommodation afforded, to others." American public schools have frequently been, East and West, North and South, even among the New England States, "pauper" or "charity" schools; and it is greatly to the credit of the Indiana Legislature that, as early as 1821, when her sister States saw no way to make elementary education both free and universal, the Assembly of one Western State, taking counsel of progress, saw and was ready to affirm the right of every child, of whatever rank or social condition, to an education at public expense. This was the theory; and it may be held as sound educational doctrine to-day. Such wise faith dignifies even the failure of the fathers. This is the bright side of the picture—seventy years ago. The darker story may well go untold.

The committee was wisely constituted, all being men prominent in the deliberations of the State, and possessed of civil and political influence. They were greatly aided, also, in their conferences, and in the final drafting of a bill, by Judge Benjamin Parke. The report, ordered in 1821, was in time made, and, after abundant revision and eliminations, was passed January 31, 1824, as "An act to incorporate congressional townships, and providing for public schools."

Under this, as under the preceding law, three trustees might be elected in each township. Their powers, however,

were greatly extended. They were to hold office one year only; had general charge of school lands and school funds, and, for the better organization of their territories, were required to set off their townships into districts, and appoint a subtrustee in each. In addition to these duties, the township officers examined teachers and granted licenses. Nominally, this was a forward step. Practically, it was far from ideal. The examination covered the subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic, with an occasional branch, as geography, petitioned for by the patrons. The examiners were rarely school men, not unfrequently ignorant, though usually friendly to the schools, and, for the most part, men already preoccupied with business. The test (if the examination may be dignified by such term) was accordingly very simple, as a rule, while in many cases the license might be had for the asking. Teachers were not numerous, and while the demands were not great, neither were employers exacting. In theory, the need of some test of the qualification of intending teachers was recognized; in practice, little discrimination was made.

Teachers having been duly examined "touching their qualifications, and particularly as respects their knowledge of the English language, writing, and arithmetic," and having satisfied the trustees that they would be "useful persons to be employed as teachers in said public schools," entered into an "Article of Agreement" specifying what part of their wages should be in produce, when and where delivered; what part should be paid in money, and in what installments, and whether the teacher should be boarded among his employers.

Baynard R. Hall, in the *New Purchase*,* mentions the pay of teachers as given in "fat-flitch, cord-wood, eggs and butter," and elsewhere as including "pork, corn, tow-linen, and leather." In 1842, one James Eastridge engaged to teach in Orange County a term of three months for \$36.50,

* Published in 1853; see pp. 116 and 117.

"to be paid \$25 in State scrip, \$2 in Illinois money, and \$9.50 in currency." The records show further that "Jesse Titus, a 'lame schoolmaster,' in Johnson County, had nineteen scholars for three months at one dollar each."* And these instances are selected not because they were exceptions—they were not—but because, if not the rule, they were yet very common.

The trustee was held responsible for all collections, whether of produce, tax, or subscriptions, and held to pay over, as per contract, to the teacher.

Schools were opened in the best counties only, and in the older settlements. The terms were seldom more than three months in length, and often less. Tuition was not free. Rate bills were common. With 675,000 acres of school lands, worth nominally more than a million and a quarter of dollars,† the school revenue was inconsiderable, both from neglect of the lands and mismanagement of funds. Under the best conditions, the efficiency of the system depended much upon the local interest, and chiefly upon individual enterprise. No provision was made for either town or city schools—a defect that, while nominally met by the county seminaries,‡ was not corrected in the legislation of the State for more than a quarter of a century. The law concerned the rural districts only, and was conditioned almost wholly by the congressional grant of the sixteenth section. Further, it was permissive in its provisions, never mandatory. Every best offer of the State was subject to rejection at the hands of some ignorant or indifferent community.

At the passage of the law there were but six organized

* For these and similar instances, see D. D. Banta in *History of Johnson County*, p. 361.

† Government land in 1825 was rated at \$2 per acre.

‡ Under this law of 1824 the Indiana school system, as legally constituted, comprised (1) the common rural school, (2) the county seminaries (law of 1818), and (3) the State seminary (chartered in 1820), opened in 1824.

counties in the State, and with less than 200,000 population distributed over half its area. Few townships were officered, and fewer yet maintained schools. The local-option feature of the law admitting of public neglect, education very naturally, but unfortunately, was sometimes overlooked, in the presence of not more important but more clamorous interests.

But grave problems of State diplomacy and finance were involved. Aside from occasional local indifference and sometimes legislative evasion, the law itself was doomed to failure for lack of funds. There could be no State system while there was wanting the mastery of the funds to maintain the system.

By a few of the leaders of the time, private and official, this was thoroughly comprehended. In his message to the next Legislature (the tenth), after the passage of the law, having quoted the second section of Article IX of the Constitution, Governor Ray said: "There is no subject more worthy the attention of the representatives of a free people than that of providing means for the education of all classes of society, rich and poor together, in the same manner, at the same school. Nor is there a more effective method of suppressing vice and giving countenance to and encouraging the principles of humanity, industry, and morality; nor is there any better method of bringing native genius to light and usefulness. It is one of the first duties of a government as well as of an individual to provide the means necessary for their own existence. It has been well said that 'knowledge is power,' and that 'ignorance is a footstool to despotism.' Ours is, emphatically, a government of the people, and its very existence depends upon their virtue and intelligence. A well-educated people will always be virtuous. They only need to know their rights to protect and defend them." Among other and less pertinent observations the Governor makes reference to the reservation of the sixteenth section for common-school purposes, to the township set apart for a State seminary, and to the provis-

ions made for county seminaries, and concludes that there were or might be sufficient means to maintain schools, but urges the Legislature to further improve and increase the several funds "so as to carry the general scheme of education into complete effect." He shrewdly detects the organic weakness of the law, however (anticipating by a quarter of a century the decision of the Supreme Court upon the legal ownership of the "school section"), in that the law of 1824 was formulated upon the erroneous "supposition that the Legislature could legally sell the lands for the use of township schools." He questioned the soundness of the committee's report in respect to this point and the practicableness of the law, and asked an investigation. This part of the message was accordingly, by the two Houses, referred to their respective committees on education. But in all the proceedings of the "House" the topic is not again referred to, and in the Senate it was given but an indifferent reception. Mr. Ewing, chairman of the Committee on Education in the Senate, on December 28, 1825, twenty days after the delivery of the message, did report as follows : *

"That a great diversity of opinion, not at this moment to be reconciled, seems to prevail on a proper course to pursue in regard to the fund set apart by compact, to impart instruction to every class of our citizens ; and that, although it would be a source of inestimable gratification to every one if it appeared practicable, in the absence of all such difference of opinion, to procure the means necessary to support free schools and disseminate common elementary knowledge among the people, your committee have to lament that the requisite resources do not seem to be within its reach.

"With the exception of county seminaries deriving some aid from the penal code, and the township rents accruing to the State University, there exists no active fund for education *to which resort could be had ; and the pittance of rent from some sixteenth sections is entirely inadequate to effect*

* See Journal of the Senate, Tenth Session, p. 104.

the object at this time. Indeed, to carry knowledge to the inmates of every family in our State, and thus promote the intent, or fulfill the purpose, of the now unprofitable fund appropriated, would require a system of ways and means previously digested to act upon; and whatever the equivalent paid by the present generation for this unwieldy fund, by refraining from taxation for five years* on all lands sold, still without the express sanction of Congress, the other party to the compact, as well as the consent of every inhabitant, no act can be done or sanctioned that would release the State of her responsible trust and render the fund of more immediate advantage.

“Nor can a majority of your committee believe it just or politic (unless by acts of incorporation to give control to the inhabitants interested) to authorize an extension of lease that would deprive two or three generations of hoped-for increase in value of the fund in question. Indeed, on consulting the power under which you act, in its true spirit, the validity of any legislation that would on your part extend leases beyond one generation might, it is supposed, become matter of question and doubt. The township land (or at least the township† attached to the State University) is placed in your possession with a different power, and can unquestionably be sold, when you may deem that course expedient.

“Thus situated, and viewing the establishment of township free schools of the first importance to the future happiness and glory of the State, it has been agreed to report the following joint resolution. Under any circumstances, your committee would view the course contemplated by this reso-

* The Enabling Act provided that all public lands sold by Congress after December 1, 1816, should be exempt from all taxes for a period of five years from date of sale.

† Two had now been granted—one in 1804, located in Gibson County, and appropriated to Vincennes University; the other in Monroe County, in 1816, for the Indiana Seminary, at Bloomington. The former had been sold in 1822.

lution as the most advisable. It will no doubt procure a well-digested system, and with the accompanying knowledge sought for you will hereafter possess a perfect understanding of the whole subject, and a precise idea how far the present generation stands bound to posterity for the fund. At this time it is viewed hazardous, if not impossible, to urge upon the State a crude system of free schools (and such only could now be devised) without apparent means of sustenance, free of taxation, and preserving that which equally belongs to those who come after us. This resolution will, it is thought, effect more, and enable all to act upon the important subject understandingly."

The resolution mentioned in the extract does not appear in the Journal of the Senate for the session, and is not elsewhere referred to.

The report of the Senate committee is given in full as reflecting the public sentiment concerning education, and the difficulties in the way of providing schools, not less than the attitude of the legislative mind. The hindrances were many. This, it must be remembered, was thirteen years prior to the earliest State system in this country, and while yet all legislation was tentative. "Schools and the means of education" were to be "encouraged," but the way was not well understood. The attempt made, however, contributed to the general discussion, and finally to a better understanding. In the session of 1824 the school system of Indiana began to take shape.

CHAPTER IV.

ATTEMPTS AT SCHOOL SYSTEMS.—(Continued.)

THE next general legislation concerning schools was not until 1833 ; but the law-makers were not idle during these intervening years, neither was educational interest wanting or diminished.

A number of county seminaries had been opened in parts of the State, under the provisions of the Constitution and the law of 1818, besides special incorporations here and there in the more progressive communities. The State Seminary at Bloomington, incorporated in 1820 and opened in 1824, was, three years later, incorporated as Indiana College and given enlarged powers, with an extended curriculum. In the same year, also (1828), a legislative act was passed empowering the inhabitants of any township by vote to sell their school lands and to put their money at interest for the support of the schools of their township. The privilege, erected at once into a policy by a few corporations, was rapidly embraced by other townships, so that in fifteen years (1843) the proceeds from the sale of congressional lands amounted to nearly a million and a quarter of dollars.

An act of 1831 also supplemented the first general law by adding to the existing administrative machinery a school commissioner for each county, whose function was that of financial agent for the local school corporations, and whose term of office was three years. Voters in each school district in which it had been determined to open a school were to decide how much local tax, if any, should be levied for schools, the length of school term, and really most other details. Even this provision was vitiated by the counter one that "no person should be liable for tax who does not, or does not wish to, participate in the benefit of the school fund."*

But of all the minor acts of these years the most important belong to the year 1832. In that year Congress authorized the State Legislature to sell the salt lands granted to the State in 1816 and appropriate the proceeds to the support of common schools.† In the same year, also, was passed "An act to provide a fund to encourage common schools," and a sale ordered of those lands held by non-resi-

* Section 43 of the act, approved February 10, 1831.

† Ultimately this added about \$85,000 to the general fund.

dents upon which taxes had become delinquent, the proceeds of which should be set aside and form the nucleus of a permanent State fund. While no considerable revenue accrued from this source, the passage of the act was a recognition in a positive way of the principle of State responsibility for the education of youth, and so shows progress.

The law of February 2, 1833, referred to, was entitled "An act incorporating congressional townships and providing for public schools therein." It contained two hundred and five sections, and was very elaborate. There were retained the school commissioner in each county, and three trustees in each township. There was imposed, however, the additional requirement of three subtrustees in each district, holding office for one year. The county treasurer might be made school commissioner, and in most counties such arrangement prevailed. Money derived from the sale of lands might, at the discretion of the inhabitants of the township, be loaned to the residents of the township, or elsewhere in the county, or deposited in the State loan office at Indianapolis. In the absence of instructions, the commissioner followed his own preferences. The arrangement had the effect to make loans more secure, though it did not result in taking any considerable money out of the county.

Both township and district trustees were, by the provisions of the law, exempt from military duty, and the former from road-tax. To district trustees were left the enumeration of children,* the examination of applicants,† and the employment of teachers. Further, they erected or directed the erection of all houses. For their own counsel they might call meetings of the inhabitants, and upon petition of any five householders were required to do so. If the patrons in such meeting voted to build a house and to maintain a school, the duty of the trustee was simply to follow

* In three classes: (1) those under five years of age, (2) those between five and fourteen years, and (3) those from fourteen to twenty-one.

† Aided by the township trustees also, in some cases, and by agreement.

instructions. The official had no alternative. The accompanying extracts* from the law will make clear to the reader the mode of procedure in building houses, levying taxes, collecting materials, etc.

"Upon the enumeration of taxable property having been taken, a meeting shall be had of the persons of whose property a list has been taken, who shall decide (if a school-house is to be built) what tax is to be assessed, on what property, the proportion to each, and who (if any) shall be exempt from such tax, or any part thereof, and whether the same shall be paid in work or materials on such school-house, or in money, and what proportion of each; and, in fixing the proportion for each person, may take into consideration the number of each person's children to be educated, and other equitable circumstances." Further, "every able-bodied male person being a freeholder or householder of such district, of the age of twenty-one years or upward, shall be liable to work two days on such school-house; or so much tax in labor, materials, and money shall be assessed as, by computation, will, in addition to such labor, finish the school-house."

The same law provided, also, that taxes might be assessed in any subsequent year after the house was built, and all expenses thereon paid, unless the district meeting should otherwise direct, and be appropriated to the support of the school. In the absence of instruction, further, the district trustees might (they rarely did) contract with the teacher "to pay a gross sum per month, per quarter, or per year." Along with this, however, each householder was left to fulfill his own "contract with the teacher for tuition, fuel, and contingencies."

Altogether, the act, though limiting the tax in any one year to one fourth per cent on the taxable property, was liberal, and, for the day and people, fair. It must be admitted, however, that the privilege was not greatly used. The years of the decade just closing were years of rapid

* Parts of sections 152 and 153 of the School Law of 1833.

changes and, upon the whole, of improvement in all social matters—education included. Numbers of private and independent schools were opened, including some very successful ones, generally as academies or seminaries, sometimes offering elementary instruction, but always, for that time, a liberal secondary training. Such men as Morrison and Montgomery and Sharpe and Neef and May and Per-ring had begun their work—men whose contributions to education in a dozen counties were revolutionizing public sentiment regarding schools throughout the State.

Two new colleges had been established—Wabash and Asbury (Hanover dates from 1826). Provisions favorable to the public schools had been confirmed in the State Bank charter (granted in 1834), and in 1837 one half of the Federal deposit falling to Indiana was set aside for the schools. It was further enacted,* as a means of encouraging local effort and enterprise, that, of the seventy-five-cent tax collected for State purposes in each township, twelve and a half cents might go to the schools; and that five per cent of the gross revenue collected in the several counties for State purposes might be divided among the townships in proportion to the amount of revenue paid by each township.

This all indicates advancement made and making, both in the system of schools and in the supporting public sentiment.

But progress was discouragingly slow. The legislation of the period was marked by compromises. The law of 1836, for example, provided that, "upon the failure to elect district trustees, any householder might employ a teacher, qualified and certificated, and subject to all the limitations and privileges incident to other teachers and other schools." This was not only the law, but a not uncommon practice as well, for there were frequent schools of the kind, and the requisitions of the householder were honored by the officials, as in the regularly established public schools. More-

* Act of February 8, 1836.

over, as early as 1834, denominational schools had, in a few instances, been recognized as "public schools" in the eyes of the law—schools established by the Society of Friends and other sects being considered as "district schools," and granted their pro-rata use of the public funds and the privileges of the civil machinery.*

It was during this period also, and through Governor Noble's administration (1831-'37), that occurred the introduction and most vigorous prosecution of the "Internal Improvement System" of Indiana, which both made and bankrupted the State—a movement, however, of the most disastrous immediate results to schools and the means of education. Governor Ray, in his annual message in 1827, commended the seminary at Bloomington and asked for a college charter, but made no mention of common schools. The like stricture applies to his three subsequent messages, and in substance to the first of Governor Noble (1831), which contained a sort of encomium upon education in about twelve lines, but neither suggested nor urged any educational policy.

The year following (1832), however, the claims of education were given prominence and specific attention. The State had reached a population of over 400,000, and claimed 100,000 children of school age. Yet an insignificant number only of these were in the schools, or in any way provided for. In the words of the message, "the State was without tangible resources for the accomplishment of their education." An amendment to the law was suggested, "so as to permit the minority to avail themselves of the corporate power (in congressional townships) when the majority refuse to levy tax for school purposes"; and an appropriation from the State Treasury recommended to be apportioned among schools already maintained for a minimum time. Nothing came of the suggestion, however.

Next to the serious and seemingly unmanageable defi-

* See Act of February 1, 1834, sec. 13.

ciency of funds was an equally annoying lack of qualified teachers. Normal schools were yet unknown in this country,* and institutions for general culture even, in the West at least, were few. The advantages afforded by existing colleges and schools were not easily or generally available. The State was overrun by educational transients and incompetents. There were few capable, and fewer yet trained to their vocation. "The want of competent persons to instruct in our schools," said Governor Noble, "is a cause of complaint in many sections of the State. And it is to be regretted that in employing transient persons from other States, combining but little of qualification or moral character, the profession is not in the repute it should be." This was certainly a very guarded expression. But, with a view to the improvement of teachers as a class, he recommended † seminaries upon the manual-labor plan to prepare them; and, by applying the available Saline funds to one or more institutions, ‡ organize classes to fit young men for township schools. With a like purpose in view, he also recommended a manual labor preparatory school added to the State College. Aside, however, from an occasional teachers' class among the better county seminaries, and similar work for a few terms in the State University, no systematic efforts were made to provide qualified teachers* for more than thirty years.

Not for eight years is mention again made in the official messages of the Governor of either the problem or the need of elementary education. But the law-makers themselves came from among the people, and the people were not wholly indifferent to the educational condition of their State.

* The first was established at Lexington, Mass., in 1839.

† Message, December 3, 1833.

‡ By then recent arrangement certain of the New York academies were being so used—a fact that, perhaps, suggested the plan mentioned here.

* Concerning the early Hoosier teacher, see *The Schools of Indiana*, p. 18 *et seq.*, and p. 53.

On February 6, 1837, was approved a new and comprehensive law, preserving in the main the leading features of the former one, the same officers with like functions and the same official terms. In addition to these and somewhat modifying their duties, the Circuit Court was to appoint annually three "examiners," whose duty it should be "to certify the branches of learning each applicant was qualified to teach," a service which had before fallen to the district trustees, and might yet be performed by them, with or without the co-operation of the examiners. School funds further could not be distributed except to such district as had "a school-house already provided (either built or adopted) of convenient size and with sufficient light, and so furnished as to render the teacher and pupils comfortable." Even then the money appropriation voted by the tax-payers themselves was limited to \$50 to each house.

All of which, nevertheless, unsatisfactory as it appears to Indiana subjects of to-day, is an index of gratifying progress in two directions. First, there is a recognition of the fact, not before so clearly manifest, that any movement toward bettering the schools must primarily regard the improvement of the teachers. The law provided, as previous acts had not, for a selective estimate and ranking of teachers, and, in theory, marked an advance. Practically, without doubt, there still remained much looseness. Examinations were formal, the examiners poorly fitted for their duties. The growing sentiment in favor of schools made a demand for more teachers than could be readily found. To meet the requirements as to number, the test easily became lax. Still it was a step in the line of a much-needed and elsewhere growing concession of public and legislative sentiment regarding the importance of the teacher as a factor in education.

Furthermore, the legislation and public expression and official documents of the period show a growth in public confidence in the State control of education. Indiana had only been following in the footsteps of her sister and neigh-

boring States in surrendering to the localities, the townships and the districts, large, frequently unrestricted privileges in the local control of school matters. A strongly localized administration of civil affairs was a legacy of the preceding generation, and a natural issue of the conflicts of the Revolution. In school control it led to the most irrational and unwarranted emphasis of individual and district rights, and their exaltation over community and general claims and the common good. The extreme non-interference of the State opened the way for diversified courses, uncertain school policies, arbitrary management, unequal privileges in the same township even, local evasions of the law, mismanagement of the funds, etc. The train of evils was a long one.

The State had a school system upon the statute books for fourteen years, but really not a dollar could be spent for education during most of that period except by the consent of patrons. The Legislature was powerless to enforce its own laws in respect to schools. Ignorance and indifference and improvidence in not a few of the schools had the mastery. But both public sentiment and official papers, as well as legislative enactments, fifty years ago, were quietly and gradually admitting the wisdom of a more specific, central, and uniform control of even local interests, having so large general significance as the right training of the youth.

A part of the State's taxes might now be appropriated to the support of township schools; true, the use of the means was optional, but it was backed by the State, the aid of the latter being available only to supplement local effort. The revenue from the beginnings of the permanent fund furthered confidence in the State's good intentions. The law was mandatory upon school officials touching the examination and employment of teachers. And before the middle of the next decade (1843) counties were made locally responsible for the school funds in their custody, and for the uniform and timely payment of interest thereon.

Looked at in detail, however, the results of the State's

attempt at schooling were far from satisfactory. For twenty years statute had been added to statute, and the resulting school system was little more than a jumble of wheels within wheels. There was no school organization. There were few schools. The degree of illiteracy was alarming. It menaced the industrial interests, the social standing, and the political safety of the Commonwealth. One seventh of the population was illiterate. The State's system of internal improvements had become a burden at home and a word of reproach abroad. In the effort to open up the State to profitable commerce, five and a half million dollars had been already expended, and the plan contemplated would require the investment of twelve to fifteen millions more. The State debt had reached more than eighteen millions upon a taxable property valuation of less than a hundred millions and a population of about 700,000. In the general confusion and the prevalent uncertain financial condition, the schools, naturally enough perhaps, suffered, not so much from neglect as from occasional unwise meddling. "It may be," said Governor Bigger,* "that a principal cause of failure (in establishing schools) is to be found in the fact that too much reliance has been placed in devising particular systems, which of themselves are expected to produce the desired result without any reference to the peculiar state of society, or the means that can be commanded to carry out the systems." Are there funds," he questions, "in a situation to be applied as appropriated? What amount can be relied upon? and is the entire amount sufficient to answer any valuable purpose? or is it necessary to make additions to the funds already designed, to aid in a compliance with the requisitions of the Constitution?"

He very wisely reasoned that, until these matters should be ascertained, every system of common-school education must necessarily prove inefficient, and recommended the appointment of an agent to look into and report the general

* Message, December 7, 1841.

condition of the school funds of the State—those “truly great and magnificent funds,” of which his predecessor in 1837 had said they “need only a corresponding energy and foresight in the application of them to procure the happiest results—to carry the light of intelligence and the spirit of inquiry into every family circle in the State.”

The legislation of these years was chiefly amendatory of the former, and in no respect suggested a larger or deeper insight into the conditions of the problem or its solution. It was provided (1841) that the householders of a district might, by a two-thirds vote, levy a tax to continue a school for more than three months, and that inhabitants maintaining private schools might, in the absence of public schools, draw their proportion of school funds. This latter was part of a policy of farming out the public revenues to individuals and corporations and religious bodies that was more or less common in certain of the older States in the last century, and while seemingly expedient then and there, and in Indiana a half-century ago, was destructive of every vestige of effort toward the maintenance of an organized and intelligently supported system.

Every new enactment seemed only to complicate matters. Governor Bigger again, in his message the following year,* exhibited the deficiencies and contradictions of the existing provisions in a practical and emphatic way. In spite of much declamation to the people and organized effort in this respect, in the face of all that had been written and spoken and legislated in reference to common schools, he insisted that very little that was practical had been accomplished. “Our schools,” he said, “are a mass of complicated statutory provisions, presenting difficulties even to the disciplined legal mind, which are almost insuperable to the ordinary citizen.”† After reminding the Legislature that, notwith-

* December 6, 1842.

† See the School Law as given in chap. xv of the Revised Statutes of Indiana for 1843.

standing the legal requirements, the management and amount of the seminary fund was unknown to them, the Governor reported the surplus revenue distributed to counties as \$723,346, the funds derived from the sale of school lands at \$1,105,899, and the value of unsold lands about \$425,000. And, further, while the available interest should be about \$150,000, the amount actually distributed to counties was but \$94,436, leaving a deficit of over \$50,000 unaccounted for.

Further, he calls legislative attention to the fact that, with a school population of 237,143, but 111,465 were reported as the total enrollment in all the educational institutions of the State, leaving 125,678 children of school age unprovided for and unrepresented. But even this worst showing indicates growth. The culture forces were not wholly obscured. Forty-seven per cent of the children were reached. This was so much gain, and meant some sort of schooling for twice the proportion reached under the first school law (1824).

From this time, beyond mere technical changes, no modifications of note were made in the law concerning schools prior to 1848, if there be excepted the single provision in 1843, that the treasurer of the State should act as "superintendent of common schools." * The one duty of this new officer was to prepare and submit to the General Assembly an annual report containing: 1. The condition and amount of school funds. 2. The condition of the State University † and other colleges. 3. The condition of county seminaries. 4. The number and condition of common schools. 5. Estimates and expenditures of public school moneys. 6. Plans for the management of the school fund and the better organization of the common schools. 7. General recommendations.

* Suggested by the Governor's recommendation, 1841, see p. 39.

† The Indiana College had been reorganized and incorporated, 1838, as above.

One peculiar clause of the School Code of 1843 was the stipulation* that "the counties of Clark and Scott should be exempted from the provisions of the chapter," and that the former law should remain in full force in those counties. Most legislation of the time, particularly that concerning education, was partial, and its application by piecemeal. Exceptions were the law, and uniform law the exception. Local preference, and individual convenience, and established custom, party or class sentiment and expediency, were too often allowed to dictate terms. The policy initiated the granting of numerous special charters and the incorporation of individual schools and societies, and organizations for industrial and social improvement, with independent rights, and large and not infrequently conflicting privileges, generally lending only confusion—incalculable confusion. In the eight years from 1837 to 1844, inclusive, the General Assembly had granted corporate powers to seminaries, literary societies, local schools, private institutions and industrial bodies to the number of 400.†

CHAPTER V.

SEMINARIES AND ACADEMIES.

REFERENCE has already been made elsewhere‡ to the constitutional provisions of 1816. Section 3, Article IX, of that document, includes the following paragraph concerning public seminaries: "And for the promotion of such salutary end [a general system of education], the money which shall be paid as an equivalent by persons exempt from military duty, except in times of war, shall be exclusively and in equal proportion applied to the support of county semi-

* Sec. 142, chap. xv, Revised Statutes, 1843.

† See Governor's message, December 2, 1845.

‡ See p. 10.

naries ; also all fines for any breach of the penal laws shall be applied to said seminaries in the counties wherein they shall be assessed."

This was an attempt, at least, to carry out the spirit of the " Ordinance of 1787," and was entirely in harmony with the constitutional and legislative movements of all the States during the period under discussion. Theoretically, the dignity and claims of education were not only conceded, but recognized as determining factors in all legislation. " Schools and the means of education " were to be encouraged.

The first steps of any kind, looking toward public education, taken by the State after the adoption of the Constitution (1816), were incorporated in a law entitled " An act respecting public seminaries, and for other purposes," approved January 26, 1818. The act comprised eight sections, and is known and cited as the " County Seminary Law of 1818."

In accordance with its provisions, the Governor of the State was empowered to appoint in each county a " trustee of seminary funds," whose duty it should be " to call at once upon, and receive from the county treasurer, and such other persons as have, or by law ought to have, any fines in his or their hands belonging properly to the county for the use of a public seminary therein, and place to the credit of said seminary."

The money was for many years loaned to citizens of the county, but in 1831 it was provided by the Legislature that the trustee might, at his discretion, loan to the county commissioners instead, the term being limited to three years. The trustee was himself allowed a six-per-cent commission on all moneys handled. Fourteen years later, when the wealth of the State had greatly augmented and the labor of the office increased, though the seminary funds remained wholly inadequate, the fee allowance was reduced to three per cent.

It was further ordered, in the act of 1818, that trustees " should annually, within the first twelve days of the session of the General Assembly, transmit to the Speaker of the

House of Representatives a certified list of all moneys by them received." Subsequently (1822) the report was made to the boards of county commissioners, in their respective counties, and thence forwarded to the House of Representatives ; but neither under these laws, nor any other for the next thirty years, was information had, either official or unofficial, that discovered the actual condition of the seminaries or their funds. The State's legislators either had no authority, or, having it, failed to exercise it ; the funds were loosely managed, the law concerning fines was evaded or ignored, few reports were made and fewer yet audited, so as to be trustworthy, and in 1842 the Governor was forced to admit that there was no satisfactory information of either the amount or the management of the seminary funds, both of which it was a part of their duty to know.

The next legislation of importance was "An act relative to county seminaries," approved January 31, 1824, and was designed to realize the provisions of the law of 1818. Funds had been accumulating for six years—at least, it was supposed to be so, and was true theoretically. But there were no seminaries.

It was provided that when the available funds should amount to \$400 (later made \$500) the commissioners in each county, or, after his appointment, the seminary trustee, should proceed to the erection of a building. The lot was sometimes donated by an individual citizen, public-spirited and far-seeing, or provided by the town, the citizens frequently supplementing the building funds by subscriptions of labor or materials or money, or all of them. The State's contribution to education for many years was never more than a nucleus about which gathered generous, self-denying, public-spirited, individual effort.

The houses were generally substantial two-story structures, well built (many of them remaining to the present day), with three or four rooms, and, for the time and conditions, conveniently arranged. They were the educational centers of the county, about which gathered all enterprises,

and from whose frequent meetings originated most movements looking to the general social, intellectual, and industrial advancement of the community. The building was held by legislative decree* to be "a common seminary of learning, and equally free and open to all the citizens of the county for purposes of education." But here were held also, as sometimes indeed at the present day, the religious meetings of the neighborhood, public speaking on social and political questions, lyceums and debates, Sabbath schools, chance conventions, etc., and in not a few of the newer counties sessions of the court regularly.

Upon the completion of a building, and in the movement to open a school, a board of trustees was generally provided to succeed the one trustee of the seminary funds, and to have general direction of the school. The numbers varied from five, in most counties, frequently seven, to as many as fifteen. The law originally provided that the choice of the trustees should be by election of the householders, but that, in case of failure to elect, the county commissioners should appoint. Usually, however, in the act of incorporation under the general law, members of the first board were named by the Legislature. They were frequently appointed by the Circuit Courts, and occasionally by the county officers. Boards once more were often self-perpetuating, though regularly vacancies were filled by the commissioners in most counties. The management, it will be seen, was very irregular and various, the policy being wholly dictated by local preference and convenience.

The financial condition of the seminaries was never such as either to command confidence or to assure prosperity. There was perhaps no instance in the State where such school was self-supporting, or meant to be. All were dependent upon tuition fees. That the seminary should be "equally free and open to all the citizens of the county"

* Act of January 31, 1824, thereafter called the "General Law concerning County Seminaries."

only meant, at best, uniformity of charges, not immunity from them. Neither individuals nor classes should be specially favored or discriminated against. Still, there were certain recognized sources of revenue, as enumerated in the Constitution, confirmed by the laws of 1818 and 1824, and supplemented in a trifling way by subsequent legislation; but they were both few and unprofitable, not to say uncertain. The supplemental act was in 1838,* and provided for the recovery of money lost in gaming contracts. In case the party losing did not within six months' time prosecute for the amount, it "should be lawful for any other person or persons to sue for and recover the same, . . . for the benefit of the family or the next of kin; . . . and in case there shall be no such family or kindred, then for the benefit of the county seminary." The several contingencies left little for the schools. The aggregate proceeds from all available sources, it has already been suggested, were small, rarely sufficient even to erect a house, much less to meet the tuition and incidental expenses of the school.

The "conscience money," as the exemption payments came to be called, was but one dollar for each annual failure to perform militia duty, and was never large, though in certain sections of the State very common. The State treasurer, Samuel Merrill, in his report to the Legislature in 1825, mentioned returns of fines assessed by eight regiments at \$332.50, of which sum but \$7 had been paid. At the same time judgment was reported against the former treasurer for \$1,150 of such funds; notwithstanding all of which, however, the total amount actually paid into the State treasury by the several regimental paymasters from 1825 to 1841 was but \$634.65. Insignificant as the proceeds were, a special act of February 2, 1833, provided that they might be paid to the school commissioner of the county, and applied to the common schools, instead of into the seminary fund, if the individual making the payment so preferred. It is claimed that

* See Revised Statutes, 1843, chap. xxxiv, pp. 593, 594.

after 1840 most exemption moneys were so diverted from the seminaries (which were sometimes regarded as "aristocratic institutions") to the township schools.

Fines assessed for breaches of the peace were sufficiently numerous then as now, and might have been made a fruitful source of revenue; but having once been assessed by the local authorities, they were either not paid to or claimed by the seminaries, or they were remitted by the Governor; and what might have been a source of wealth to the seminaries made, in fact, but insignificant contributions.

Of the third class of funds, it is enough to say it was a provision chiefly on paper. Either suit was not pressed for lack of interested parties, or the money recovered went to the claimants as "next of kin." The county seminary's claim rested upon so many contingencies that nothing came of the provision. At no time does there appear official record of any funds derived from this source.

The annual exhibit of the State treasurer (1845), acting as Superintendent of Common Schools, showed the aggregate seminary funds in fifty-nine counties to be \$40,687.87, and the value of buildings and grounds, \$50,617.47; or an average seminary fund of \$690 to each county, and an average investment of about \$850 in buildings; or, assuming the same ratio to hold throughout the other twenty-nine counties in the State, a total seminary property of something less than \$150,000. As early as 1825 the seminary fund in Dearborn County amounted to \$700; in 1835 Monroe County reported \$2,000, and Morgan County a like amount, the latter showing an annual income (1849) of \$410.93. But these were exceptional instances. Of the twenty-two counties reporting to the Legislature in 1825, eight accounted for less than \$50 each, and but seven for more than \$200.

Seeing all of which, it is not difficult to understand that the fees of students must have been the principal source of revenue. No schools were endowed, and none were free. The Legislature of 1829 had enacted that, "after erecting sufficient buildings, and furnishing the same, the trustees

should, if thought necessary, appropriate such funds (as provided for by the Constitution) to the payment of teachers and for necessary assistance, so as to reduce the price of tuition, and, if practicable, make the same a free school." Some such vision of a State or public supported school may have been had by the legislators or by an occasional board of seminary trustees, but the ideal was illusive. Nowhere were schools free, even in the older East. It could scarcely be expected of the pioneer West, even in elementary education, much less among secondary schools, such as the county seminary was meant to be.

Speaking in general terms : A house having been provided, a teacher was sought for who would take charge of the school, receive and account for the public funds, collect tuition from students, assist or co-operate with the trustees in advertising the school, employ all needed assistance, and be satisfied with making what he could. The enterprise was not always a paying one ; indeed, the profits were usually small—out of all proportion to the efficient and, for the time, scholarly service and exemplary lives of many of the teachers, both principals and assistants, who managed the schools in the years just prior to and following 1850. Sometimes the principal was hired for the total tuition—the trustees, or their agent, making the collection. Occasionally a contract specified a fixed salary. In any case the pay was inconsiderable, although it is known that the Rev. Lucius Allen, principal of the Aurora Seminary, received \$300 a year at a time when the principal of Indiana Seminary was thought to be sufficiently remunerated with \$250.

The organization of the old seminary was a good example of the undifferentiated academy. It was emphatically a mixed school, of all grades, from the infant classes (frequently including children five, and even four years old) through the higher elementary and secondary forms, fitting for professional schools or classical studies in the State University. Pupils ranged from four to thirty years of age. In those sections of the State where the township schools

flourished the seminary was a high-grade classical and fitting school, and the younger pupils were excluded. For most counties, however, the seminary provided both elementary and secondary instruction.

The school year was thirty-six to forty weeks, variously divided, now into two terms—May to September, and November to March—and again into three or four terms, the latter perhaps being most common, each term consisting of ten weeks. The patronage of each school was, of course, chiefly in the immediate locality. It was a county institution; its constituents were specified, and their rights guaranteed. The privileges of the seminary being by law equally open to all within the county, they were also, by act of the trustees, made available, and usually on the same terms, to residents of other counties. Indeed, a few seminaries—as those at Salem, Logansport, Winchester, Muncie, Centreville, and New Castle—drew from territories comprising several counties, and even from adjoining States. In one year, under Mr. Ferris's principalship, six counties were represented in the Randolph County Seminary, and the States of Ohio, North Carolina, and Mississippi besides.

The seminaries of Washington, Clark, Dearborn, Knox, and others along the Southern border drew students from Kentucky and other Southern States. It is claimed that during Morrison's administration Salem Seminary was more or less patronized by one third of the organized counties of the State.

The enrollment varied greatly, as might be expected, in different counties, and in the same county at various times and under different principals; the more prosperous, including those named and a few others, registering each term from one to two hundred. In Randolph County an interesting regulation is preserved to us in the by-laws adopted by the trustees (1842) to the effect that, in the event of overcrowding in the school, "each congressional township in the county should be entitled to scholars in proportion to the number of qualified voters in the township," the overplus

being always taken from the younger members of the school. It need scarcely be said that such excess of pupils was rare.

The curriculum, along with many minor differences, was yet fairly uniform throughout the State, just as, and for the like reason in the same period, there were few and unimportant disagreements among college or university courses. Education generally was prescriptive and dogmatic. The machine was far more common than now. It has been mentioned that the seminary was only imperfectly graded. Neither old catalogues, nor the fragmentary courses that remain, show any organized effort to classify students according to their attainments except in the rudest way. Subjects were rarely co-ordinated into "courses." Each studied what he chose. Nevertheless, in most schools there may be recognized a few fairly well-established classes or grades, the germ of the later systematic schooling.

One manual, prepared by Prof. E. P. Cole, for some years principal of the Randolph County Seminary, exhibits a somewhat more careful plan, that, while different in form, was typical in spirit of most others. It included (1) the "seminary class," in which were taught orthography, reading, writing, and the first lessons in arithmetic; (2) the "junior class," comprising, besides advanced work in the above, rhetoric, speaking, writing "in various hands," arithmetic "in a manner to insure practical utility," modern geography, history, and English grammar and composition; and (3) the "senior class" with ancient and modern geography, history, natural philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, geometry, algebra, mental and moral philosophy, Latin, and sometimes Greek* and French.

The secondary work proper covered from three to four years, Latin and mathematics being continued throughout the course, and Greek and French for a shorter period. The

* For a number of years prior to 1850 the Delaware County Seminary, under Mr. Ferris, maintained three classes of Greek along with four of Latin.

amounts of history, literature, and science were really very small. Music appeared in almost every course, both vocal and instrumental, extra charges being made for it, however. Even drawing, painting, and short-hand appeared in many of them. The texts used were standard, and, to present judgment, seem to have been well chosen. They include Olney's Geographies, and sometimes Mitchell's; Walker's and Webster's Dictionaries, Davies's Algebra, Haile's History of the United States, Bronson's Elocution, Ray's Arithmetic or Day and Thompson's, Parker's Aids to English Composition, and Smith's or Wells's English Grammar. References for the subjects enumerated were few. With an occasional library, there were no laboratories. The study of Nature at first hand had as yet, and particularly in Indiana, received but little tangible encouragement; schooling was centered in the mastery of books. The languages (especially the classics) and mathematics "formed" the course. Other branches were incidental. Rhetoric, composition, debates, declamation, the dictionary, were much exalted, but were, after all, regarded rather as the common and efficient means at hand toward a practical preparation for civic and general public duties. The man of influence, then as now, was the master of argument and rhetoric; then more than now through direct and personal contact. The seminary lyceum of fifty years ago was a training ground of the citizen, and a school of state-craft. The schools of to-day may be better organized and more uniform, and more generally accessible, but from no school or system of schools has been taught a truer patriotism, more generous living, or safer habits than in these same old seminaries.

This was the practical aspect of the course. In every other respect the training of the seminary was "liberal" both as to subject-matter and method. Its aim was clearly disciplinary and humanistic; closely allied in scope and spirit with the old English and early New England academies, after which it was broadly patterned, and the first American colleges. When complete in its organization

and efficiently administered, it was a veritable college in the clearing. Too often it was only a pretense. Alongside of principals and teachers whose service would do honor to the people of any age as masters of learning and examples to youth, were ignoramuses, pedants, and mountebanks. The like has been true elsewhere and again. Even Harvard had her Nathaniel Eaton. It behooves teachers to know, however, and it is wholesome frequently to remember, the large and epoch-making services of a few of these so-called public but really private seminaries in a dozen counties. Public, because State-regulated, and the beneficiaries of continuous State aid. Private, because fee-supported, and dependent upon personal and private enterprise and interest. Among the principals of these schools were men of liberal culture and large influence.

Rev. Hiram A. Hunter, a Virginian by birth, having removed to Indiana, taught for years in the Gibson and Cass County seminaries; Rev. James S. Ferris, himself educated in the seminaries, pupil of William Haughton and first superintendent of the Winchester city schools, and Rev. R. B. Abbott (a graduate of Indiana University in 1847), were associated in the management of the Delaware, Randolph, and Henry County seminaries in succession; Prof. George W. Hoss, graduate of Asbury (now De Pauw) University, long a professor in the State University, and for one term Superintendent of Public Instruction, in Delaware and Wayne Counties; Rev. Thomas Conley and W. H. H. Terrell (subsequently Adjutant-General of the State) in Morgan County; Prof. E. P. Cole, graduate of Miami University, Ohio, and first principal and organizer of the Indianapolis High School, in the counties of Randolph and Monroe; James G. May, first superintendent of the New Albany schools and principal of the Decatur County Seminary, and Col. R. W. Thompson in Lawrence County—all, with many others, through a long experience, justified their reputation as scholarly men and superior teachers. It was the day of the classics and mathematics. A liberal training

meant these or nothing. And of all the subjects of the time, they were the best taught. Besides, the growing West attracted energetic, capable men from the older communities, many of whom became at once teachers and missionaries. To such men in no small degree does the present owe the regeneration of the State, the promotion of its material interests as well, and its marvelous development.

Typical of this larger and more wholesome influence, and so deserving of individual consideration, were such men as S. K. Hoshour, of Wayne County; Cornelius Perring,* of Monroe; and Hon. John I. Morrison, of Washington County.

Prof. Hoshour was a rare man, conscientious of both public and private duties, scholarly beyond his contemporaries, a linguist of more than local reputation, a teacher of so generous experience, and withal so inspiring to the young and so rich in the assurances of culture to man and woman as to dignify the profession—a genius, but, what is more rare, always and easily in touch with the common mind—the universal need. While at Centreville, in the Wayne County Seminary, he was the teacher, and for many years afterward the counselor and friend, of both Oliver P. Morton, later Indiana's war Governor, and Lew Wallace, since military leader, diplomat, and author. Besides these, there were in the same school others who came to only less fame; men and women of learning and enterprise, rich in the dignities of refinement and virtue, stanch friends of right and truth, in the home or the State. It was a school of statesman and prophet. It was a center of learning and ambition for much of eastern Indiana. The seeds there sown brought a rich harvest for the State.

The seminary of Washington County, for nine years under the principalship of John I. Morrison, was perhaps one of the best and best known of these county schools. It was opened at Salem in 1826 by Mr. Morrison, then a young man of twenty years, recently arrived from Franklin County,

* See p. 84.

Pennsylvania; a large-hearted man of scholarly habits, possessed of mental balance and sound intentions; democratic enough to reach the majority, but withal so familiar with the peculiar and exclusive privileges that belong to a deep and persistent spiritual culture as to attract the few most ambitious youth, nobly aspiring to a broader field of labor and privilege, the means of co-operation with the world's rich life. Students came to Salem, not alone from Washington and adjoining counties, but from distant parts of the State and from neighboring States. The principal became known, and while the school was not the largest in the State, its reputation for thoroughness, for a far-seeing, practical preparation for business, and the intelligent fitting for higher studies, drew a superior class of mature, thoughtful, earnest students.

The extent of the wholesome influence of Morrison at Salem has never been told; perhaps can not be. Among his pupils here during the decade about 1830 were John S. Campbell, Barnabas C. Hobbs, James G. May, Z. B. Sturges, W. C. De Pauw, Elijah Newland, Thomas J. Rodman, and Nathan Kimball. These are only names from the better known. Many of his pupils became teachers—indeed, not a few entered with that purpose. The seminary was a sort of teachers' academy, after the plan of the State-aided ones (after 1821) in New York, and contemporaneous with the "Teachers' School" of S. R. Hall at Concord, Vermont (1823-'30). For that day and for Indiana under pioneer conditions, large numbers also were led to continue their studies in college.*

Every influence of the institution and the man was vital-

* Indiana had at this time (prior to 1840) but four colleges: the State University (so named in 1838) at Bloomington, Hanover and Wabash Colleges, and Asbury (now De Pauw) University. (Vincennes University, closed in 1823, was but reopened in 1840.) Kentucky had two; Illinois, four; Ohio, nine; Michigan, one. Five only of these twenty so-called colleges were non-sectarian, the fifteen representing various denominations, and greatly dividing the patronage in each State.

izing and elevating. Mr. Morrison was personally an initial factor or a leading spirit in a series of social movements that made Salem for many years a kind of intellectual Mecca—a center of learning and civic discussion, and public enterprise and social improvement of the State, sharing with New Harmony the credit of making southern Indiana known.

His more capable students became at times his assistants, and later, principals or assistants in other county or private seminaries and academies, or filled chairs in colleges. Campbell entered Wabash in 1844 fresh from the Washington County Seminary, graduated in 1848, becoming successively tutor, principal, and professor in the institution. Hobbs left Salem for Cincinnati College in 1837, and studied under McGuffey, Mitchel, and Mansfield, becoming later professor in the Earlham School, and first president of the College and Superintendent of Public Instruction. Sturges entered Hanover, and, upon graduating in 1842, opened a classical school in Charlestown, Clark County, which for a score of years represented the best standards of current humanistic culture.

Such are a few only of the many instances that might be cited of the far-reaching touch of the Salem school. In seminary and college, in public office and social life, in science and culture, wherever generous sentiment and philanthropic interest were needed, for fifty years might be found men who gratefully acknowledged their indebtedness for both learning and inspiration to the Salem teacher—the Hoosier Arnold—John I. Morrison.

It was required of seminary trustees that an annual report be made "showing the number, age, and studies of pupils, and the expense of instruction," one copy of which should be filed with the county auditor, and a second forwarded to the superintendent of common schools (1843). This was the sole form of State inspection to which the county seminaries were subject, and, with the annual exhibit of their funds to the Legislature, was the only mark

they bore of being public, not private schools. These annual statements were made up from records kept by the principals, sets of which registers may yet occasionally be found in the possession of former teachers, historical societies, local libraries, or schools, and are of great value.* Indeed, they afford the one glimpse we have to-day into almost the sole means for elementary education in Indiana prior to 1850.

The accompanying table is inserted, showing, along with a list of the counties and the dates of their organization, also the establishment and location of their seminaries. It will be seen that almost half of the counties established no such schools. In some they were organized late and made no record for themselves, being sold and conducted as private seminaries or closed ; yet others, for want of funds or wise management, or local interest, failed and were abandoned. In those counties in which there were such schools an average period of fourteen years elapsed between the organization of the county and the founding of the seminary. Of the several counties without seminaries, but three were organized after 1840 ; it could not have been, therefore, from the lateness of their organization that no schools were established.

The conditions perhaps that militated against the common schools were felt here also. Education was not generally held to be a public concern. Funds accumulated slowly. Population was sparse. In the best frontier-life few would feel the need of such education as the seminaries offered.

* One such register is held by Hon. T. B. Redding, Newcastle, Indiana, and includes records of the Randolph County Seminary from January 1, 1842, to March 1, 1847 ; the Delaware County Seminary from March 8, 1847, to September 1, 1850 ; the Henry County Seminary from September, 1850, until the seminaries were closed under the new Constitution ; and the Newcastle Academy, which grew out of the last, until its absorption into the graded-school system of the town. For most of this period Rev. James S. Ferris was continuously principal, and in the three places successively.

A Table of County Seminaries.

COUNTIES.	Organiza- tion.	Location of seminary.	Organiza- tion.
Adams	1836	.....	.....
Allen	1828	Fort Wayne.....	1826
Bartholomew	1821	Columbus.....	.....
Benton	1840	.....	.....
Blackford	1839	.....	.....
Boone.....	1831	.....	.....
Brown	1836	.....	.....
Carroll.....	1828	Delphi	1837
Cass	1829	Logansport	1829
Clark	1801	Charlestown	1827
Clay	1825	Bowling Green.....	1837
Clinton	1830	.....	.....
Crawford.....	1818	Leavenworth.....	1835
Daviess	1817	Washington.....	1841
Dearborn.....	1803	Wilmington.....	1835
Decatur	1821	Greensburg	1832
De Kalb.....	1837	.....	.....
Delaware.....	1827	Muncie.....	1841
Dubois	1817	.....	.....
Elkhart	1830	.....	.....
Fayette.....	1819	Connersville	1832
Floyd	1819	New Albany.....	.....
Fountain.....	1826	.....	.....
Franklin	1811	Brookville.....	1830
Fulton	1836	.....	.....
Gibson.....	1818	Princeton.....	1829
Grant.....	1831	Marion	1850
Green.....	1821	Bloomfield.....	1832
Hamilton.....	1823	Noblesville	1827
Hancock	1828	Greenfield .....	.....
Harrison	1809	.....	.....
Hendricks.....	1824	Danville.....	.....
Henry.....	1821	New Castle	1834
Howard	1844	.....	.....
Huntington.....	1834	.....	.....
Jackson.....	1815	Brownstown .....	.....
Jasper	1838	.....	.....
Jay	1836	.....	.....
Jefferson.....	1810	Madison	1830
Jennings.....	1816	.....	.....
Johnson.....	1822	Greenwood .....	.....
Knox	1790	Vincennes	1825
Kosciusko	1836	.....	1840
La Grange.....	1832	.....	.....
Lake.....	1837	.....	.....
La Porte.....	1832	La Porte.....	1843
Lawrence	1818	Bedford	1831
Madison.....	1823	Anderson.....	1846
Marion.....	1821	Indianapolis	1833

COUNTIES.	Organiza- tion.	Location of seminary.	Organiza- tion.
Marshall.....	1836	.....	....
Martin.....	1820	Dover Hill.....	1827
Miami.....	1834	Mexico.....	1843
Monroe.....	1818	Bloomington.....	1835
Montgomery.....	1823	Crawfordsville.....	1830
Morgan.....	1822	Martinsville.....	1839
Newton.....	1859	.....	....
Noble.....	1836	.....	....
Ohio.....	1844	Rising Sun.....	....
Orange.....	1816	Paoli.....	1826
Owen.....	1819	.....	1834
Parke.....	1821	Rockville.....	1826
Perry.....	1815	.....	1834
Pike.....	1817	.....	....
Posey.....	1814	Mount Vernon.....	1834
Porter.....	1836	.....	....
Pulaski.....	1839	.....	....
Putnam.....	1822	Greencastle.....	1830
Randolph.....	1818	Winchester.....	1827
Ripley.....	1818	.....	....
Rush.....	1822	Rushville.....	1836
Scott.....	1820	.....	....
Shelby.....	1822	Shelbyville.....	1835
Spencer.....	1818	Rockport.....	....
Starke.....	1850	.....	....
St. Joseph.....	1830	.....	....
Stauben.....	1827	.....	....
Sullivan.....	1817	Sullivan.....	1827
Switzerland.....	1814	Vevay.....	1834
Tippecanoe.....	1826	Lafayette.....	1841
Tipton.....	1844	.....	....
Union.....	1821	Liberty.....	1825
Vanderburg.....	1818	.....	....
Vermilion.....	1824	.....	....
Vigo.....	1818	Terre Haute.....	1827
Wabash.....	1835	.....	....
Warren.....	1827	.....	....
Warrick.....	1813	.....	....
Washington.....	1814	Salem.....	1826
Wayne.....	1810	Centreville.....	1827
Wells.....	1837	.....	....
White.....	1834	.....	....
Whitley.....	1838	.....	....

CHAPTER VI.

PRIVATE AND INCORPORATED SEMINARIES.

THE quarter of a century from 1825 to 1850, in Indiana, was, despite its delinquencies, and what seems now to have been the constant legislative blundering in educational affairs, a period of great intellectual and industrial activity. As with elementary, so with secondary education ; all sorts of schools were planned and legalized. Incorporations were to be had for the asking. Every legislative encouragement was given private individuals to organize themselves into school and education societies. Cities vied with each other in establishing schools—on paper. Small towns, even rural communities, and private enterprise became parts of the movement. In legislative proceedings and local records fairly reliable accounts are found of nearly a hundred such incorporations in the thirty years prior to the middle of the century.

Many of these were never operated, and had existence only on the statute-books—legalized, but not realized. Such was the Indiana Teachers' Seminary, incorporated February 1, 1834, at Madison, Indiana, by Williamson Dunn and others; the Western Union Seminary of 1833, and the Washington Seminary in 1840. The "Richmond University," incorporated in 1832, was not located by the charter, nor was it mentioned as denominational or private. It was simply typical of a class of schools projected during the period, but never matured.

A table is appended of such private and incorporated schools as belong to this period and have a known record to give them a place in history. The entire movement through which private and associated enterprise sought to meet the deficiencies in the public policy of education is interesting, and has been of profound consequences. The incorporated Seminary of Indiana fifty years ago rendered an invaluable service to education throughout the State. It

is not expected that the list will be found complete. Many of the institutions are lost to history. Knowledge of others is vague and untrustworthy, but both in the memories of their students yet living, and in institutions, are found traces of their influence of deep significance to our people, and deserving of perpetuation.*

NAME OF SCHOOL.	Opened.	Closed.	Location and remarks.
1. Corydon Seminary.....	1816	....	Corydon.
2. Vincennes Academy	1817	....	Vincennes.
3. Martin's Academy.....	1819	1840	Livonia.
4. New Albany School	1823	1858	"Scribner School."
5. Aurora Seminary.....	1823	....	Aurora.
6. Manual Labor School.....	1824	....
7. New Harmony Seminary...	1826	....	"Community School."
8. Cambridge Academy.....	1826	....	Lawrenceburg.
9. Beech Grove Seminary.....	1827	....	Liberty, Union County.
10. Hanover Academy.....	1827	....	Became Hanover Col.
11. Eel River Seminary.....	1829	....	Logansport.
12. Eugene Academy.....	1829	....	Eugene.
13. Female Seminary.....	1830	....	Greencastle.
14. Teachers' Seminary.....	1830	....	Crawfordsville.
15. West Union School.....	1832	1875	Monrovia.
16. Blue River Academy.....	1832	....	Salem.
17. Christian College.....	1833	....	New Albany.
18. Western Union Seminary ..	1833	....
19. Indiana Teachers' Seminary	1834	....	Madison; never opened.
20. Female Seminary.....	1835	....	Salem; J. I. M.'s school.
21. Carlisle School.....	1835	....	Sullivan County.
22. Olive Branch School.....	1835	....	Lafayette.
23. Indiana Baptist Manual Labor Institution.....	1837	1844	Became Franklin Col.
24. Western Scientific and Agri- cultural College	1837	....
25. Vincennes Academy.....	1837	....	Vincennes.
26. Manual Labor Collegiate Institute	1837	....	St. Joseph County.
27. Laurel Academy.....	1837	....	Franklin County.
28. Peru Collegiate Institute...	1837	....	Peru.
29. Cambridge City Seminary...	1838	....	Cambridge City.
30. Female School.....	1838	....	Covington.
31. Cedar Lake Seminary... ..	1839	...	Crown Point.

* It is earnestly desired that such readers of this volume as are interested in the preservation of the traces of social movements in Indiana will contribute any additional facts they may have touching these seminaries to the author. The favor will be appreciated.

NAME OF SCHOOL.	Opened.	Closed.	Location and remarks.
32. Concordia College.....	1839	....	Fort Wayne.
33. St. Gabriel's College.....	1839	....	Vincennes.
34. Collegiate Institute.....	1840	....	La Grange.
35. Female Institute.....	1840	....	Crawfordsville.
36. Orleans Institute.....	1840	....	Orleans.
37. Female Seminary.....	1840	....	Rockville.
38. La Porte University.....	1841	....	Included law and medicine.
39. Lancasterian Academy.....	1842	....	La Porte.
40. South Bend Academy.....	1843	....	South Bend.
41. St. Mary's Seminary.....	1844	....	Indianapolis.
42. De Pauw Female College....	1845	....	New Albany.
43. St. Mary's Seminary.....	1846	....	"St. Mary's of the Woods," T. H.
44. Union Literary Institute....	1846	....	Spartanburg.
45. Female Academy.....	1846	....	Charleston.
46. Friends' Academy.....	1846	....	Bloomingsdale.
47. M. E. College.....	1846	....	Fort Wayne.
48. Female College.....	1846	....	Fort Wayne.
49. Institute of Fine Arts.....	1847	....	Bowling Green.
50. Female Seminary.....	1847	....	Knightstown.
51. Anderson's Collegiate Inst..	1847	....	New Albany.
52. Industrial and Literary Inst.	1847	....	Jeffersonville.
53. Perryville Seminary.....	1847	....	Vermilion County.
54. Friends' Boarding School..	1847	....	Richmond.
55. Pittsburgh H. S.....	1848	....	Carroll County.
56. Fairview Academy.....	1848	....	Rush County.
57. Male and Female Institute..	1848	....	Lawrenceburg.
58. Female Collegiate Institute.	1848	....	Greencastle.
59. Collegiate Institute.....	1849	....	Waveland.
60. Clark University.....	1849	....
61. Plainfield Seminary.....	1849	....	Plainfield.
62. Female Institute.....	1849	....	Rushville.
63. N. E. Indiana Literary Inst.	1849	....	Orland.
64. Collegiate Institute.....	1850	....	Indianapolis.
65. Indiana Female College....	1850	....	Indianapolis.
66. West Point Literary and Agricultural College.....	1850	....	Tippecanoe County.
67. Female College.....	1850	....	Princeton.
68. Female College.....	1850	....	Valparaiso; Presby'n.
69. Goodwin Female Institute..	1850	....	Lafayette.
70. Cloverdale Seminary.....	1850	....	Cloverdale.
71. Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies.....	1851	....	Hope.
72. Brookville College.....	1851	....	Brookville.
73. Wolcottville Seminary.....	1851	....	La Grange County.

1. One class of seminaries was established at the instance of enterprising and public-spirited individuals in cities, and in lieu of city systems; men who sought a more efficient

management than was incident to the county seminary—freedom from the limitations of an uncertain neighborhood support, while securing the advantages of higher education. These institutions were incorporated generally in the name of the town or city, or perhaps the founder or first principal; sometimes received municipal aid, either gifts or loans, for buildings or apparatus, and so were scarcely less public than were the county seminaries. Tuition was no higher. All classes were equally admitted. There were no geographical limitations to attendance, and the schools were frequently provided with superior teachers, and generally had more convenient and abundant furnishings. The La Grange Collegiate Institute—the historic school of Rufus Patch; the Carlisle School, in Sullivan County (1835); the Eugene Academy, in Vermilion County (1829); and the Cambridge City Seminary, made famous by the teachings of Prof. Hoshour, are a few illustrious examples of this large class, and were all superior schools. Martin's Academy in Washington County, Anderson's Collegiate Institute at New Albany, the Literary Institute at Orland, the Lancasterian Academy at La Porte, and "collegiate institutes" in a dozen places, attest the widespread individual interest in higher education.

2. A number of schools of like grade, also, were established under the influence of the churches and at the prompting of religious zeal. Indiana was early made the field of action for every form of denominationalism. In Illinois and Michigan the State ^{very} ~~early~~ ^{early} acquired and has fairly maintained an ascendancy. Not so in Indiana and Ohio. These two, of all the States of the Northwest, have had their educational interests most divided. Here, in Indiana, especially, the sentiment was strong, and reappeared at times for forty years after the first school law (1824), that secondary and collegiate training were not a proper function of the State—at least, not wisely so, but belong of right to denominational and private enterprise. Prof. Caleb Mills, who did more for general education in Indiana than any other one man, re-

peatedly denied either the right or the need of the State to assume the burden and the responsibility of higher training.

Under the prevalent pioneer conditions, and in the atmosphere of such sentiments, seminaries were opened and incorporated by the various churches, and reached all sections of the State. The Finley Crowe Grammar School, or Hanover Academy, and the Wabash Manual Labor School and Teachers' Seminary, at Crawfordsville—both by the Presbyterians; Asbury College, at Greencastle, by the Methodists; the Indiana Baptist Manual Labor Institute, at Franklin, by the Baptists; Concordia College, at Fort Wayne, by the Lutherans; St. Mary's Seminary, at Notre Dame, by the Catholics; Bloomingdale Academy, in Parke County, by the Friends; and Hartsville Academy, by the United Brethren—all came before 1850, and all remain in some form of development to-day. Some of them have been transformed into colleges or universities. All have contributed valuable service to secondary and higher education in Indiana. Besides these there were the West Union School at Monrovia, and the Blue River Academy, both by the "Friends"; the De Pauw Female College at New Albany, and another at Fort Wayne, both by the Methodists; and the Moravian Seminary at Hope—all of accepted service, and remaining to the present day.

3. A still larger class of these secondary schools included those initiated and supported by organizations under various names—secular in constitution and purpose, and of the general nature of public "education societies." These were numerous and helpful, not only in establishing schools, but in fostering a common and wholesome sentiment upon education and the public welfare. Among the earliest of these were the "Mooresville School Society," in Morgan County, incorporated in 1828, the influence of whose labors may be traced in the neighborhood for half a century; the "First School Society," of Fayette County, in 1831, chiefly responsible for the seminary and the early interest in schools in and about Connersville; the "Cass County Eel River Semi-

nary Society" (1829), that managed the educational affairs of Logansport for a quarter of a century, and held property valued at more than \$10,000; the "Greencastle Seminary Society" (1830); the "Greenfield Education Society,"* of Hancock County; the "Big Spring Educational Society," in Johnson County, in 1833, which continued for three years, "during which period," says a recent writer,† "the school-house doors were kept open for ten months in the year"; and the "Richmond Education Society," of Wayne County (1835). Somewhat later, but of the same general character, were the "Leesburg School Society," of Kosciusko County (1840); the "Union Society for the Encouragement of Learning and Religion," at Port Royal, in Morgan County; and the "Jefferson Industrial and Literary Institute," at Jeffersonville, in Clark County. There were doubtless others also.

The history of these organizations, and others of their kind in the same period, would include most that was valuable in the improvement of schools and the progress of education. These voluntary associations, sometimes incorporated, sometimes not, working independently of the State, though with its sanction, supplementing private and other concerted efforts, organizing and nursing best neighborhood sentiments, and, wherever possible, giving to these concrete setting, by establishing schools, did much to make possible the fairly liberal law of 1852 under the new Constitution.

Not united effort alone is needed in such emergency as existed fifty years ago in Indiana, but organized and legally constituted effort; and this the larger school societies furnished, under the patronage of such men as Williamson Dunn, John McCulloch, Benjamin Parke, Bethuel Morris, E. O. Hovey, J. A. Carnahan, Samuel Merrill, J. B. Miles, Moses N. Wilder, Jesse L. Holman, and others. The roll of their colleagues would be a long one. In no period of her history has Indiana been without her representative

* Later called the "Greenwood Education Society."

† D. D. Banta, History of Johnson County, p. 371.

men—solicitous for the honor of the State and the welfare of the citizens—men who comprehended the dangers of ignorance, and saw with chagrin the prevailing apathy. This associated effort permeated all the contemporary movements toward the establishment of schools, whether county, neighborhood, or church seminaries. The prevailing administration was through public associations.

4. A fourth class, though of the same grade, included the altogether private schools—initiated and continued by private enterprise. Such were the classical institutes in Columbus and Charlestown (the latter for eighteen years under the control of Z. B. Sturges); Martin's Academy, at Livonia, in Washington County; Anderson's Collegiate Institute, in New Albany, etc. For many years, for thoroughness of instruction and liberal patronage, for generous and comprehensive curricula, they had no superiors in the State. William H. Churchman, I. N. Taylor, M. M. Post, Ebenezer Tucker, Rufus Patch, John I. Morrison, S. K. Hoshour, Barnabas Hobbs, O. H. Smith, William Haughton, Z. B. Sturges, and W. W. Hibben are historical names among the early and efficient teachers of private schools. These were men who gave character to the surviving educational sentiment of their respective neighborhoods; men who left enduring marks upon the local institutions, and made or reformed the communities' reputation. Indeed, it is not too much to say that for a generation private schools of high rank furnished the standard by which the efficiency of public schools was estimated—a distinction which strongly emphasizes Indiana's kinship with the ante-bellum South.

In their fundamental character as schools, these four kinds rank with the county seminaries. The same class of students were enrolled and like organization prevailed, and a fairly uniform curriculum was offered in all. The State had neither the means nor the precedent for a State-supported and State-controlled system of schools that should be adequate for all classes and of liberal grade. Neither were the State, and the zeal of the Church, and voluntary organi-

zations combined, sufficient for the task ; but together they accomplished something. No line of distinction can be sweepingly drawn. In each of the four groups were many poor schools. County seminaries, church schools, and private academies were often only expensive luxuries. Occasionally one received, as it merited, large patronage and public confidence. Of this character, excluding the county seminaries, were a few that have become deservedly famous.

The Eel River and Cass County Seminaries—the former a society, the latter a public institution, both established in 1829—were united in 1832, under the control of the “Cass County Eel River Seminary Society.” The new institution was reorganized in 1836, the old buildings being sold, and a new and handsome three-story structure erected at a cost of nearly \$10,000. As early as 1830 the principal was paid \$500 a year salary. The school was finally (1854) absorbed into the town system of Logansport.

The Beech-Grove Seminary, in Union County, was not only one of the earliest (founded in 1827), but one of the worthiest of this grade of school. It was a purely private enterprise, initiated by Thomas Hollingsworth and his neighbors, and was presided over by William Haughton for twenty-one years. The course was liberal in scope, English in origin (Mr. Haughton was an Irishman, educated at the distinguished Friends' Academy—boarding school—Ackworth, England), and strongly religious. Among the students of this country Quaker school (after the type of the English dissenters' academies of two centuries ago)—students notable in after years—were Gen. A. E. Burnside, Col. Nelson Trusler, Judges Cravens and Gardener, Mrs. Hannah Hadley, the philanthropist, J. S. Feris, the seminary, and Daniel Hough.

The Cambridge City Seminary was opened in 1839, with Prof. Hoshour as principal. Here, for seven years, with a large and flourishing school, were superior teaching, regular weekly preaching by the principal, and the composition of the incomparable “Altisonant Letters.”

Of the same academic rank, though differing in name, was the La Grange Collegiate Institute. It was initiated by some "friends of Christian education" in the year 1837. Really it had been planned before this, in an interesting way. Mr. Nathan Jenks, a resident of Ontario County, New York, who had, in 1832, under the influence of Rev. Charles G. Finney, forsaken the infidel club of which he had been an active member, and had consecrated his wealth and business talents to a defense of the cause he had previously labored to destroy, was the principal agent and founder of the institute. In 1835, at a meeting in Victor, New York, he proposed the founding of a literary institution somewhere in the West, and two years later, in company with other members of a committee of investigation, came into northern Indiana. February 8, 1837, the school was formally located at Ontario in La Grange County. The founder gave \$5,000, besides meeting much of the expense in building. Two houses were erected—one for a shop, the other for a collegiate building. The institution was incorporated February 13, 1840, the academic department having already been in session four months. The school was originally intended to include, besides a preparatory class, a collegiate course, a full theological course, an elective course, and a department of female education. Its charter gave it collegiate rank and granted power to confer degrees. But neither the theological nor the collegiate department was opened, and the manual labor school, though first to be equipped, was soon merged into the academy. Girls were admitted from the beginning, though from March, 1840, all social intercourse between the sexes, except in school relations, was prohibited.

Rev. Rufus Patch, who became principal in 1844, served, except a vacation of two terms in 1850 and three years from 1857, until 1876—a period of twenty-eight years. He was a graduate of Western Reserve College, scholarly and efficient, and did a much-needed work long after the State's school system had been established, successfully competing with

the best public institutions. Northern Indiana is largely indebted for liberal training and advanced views on educational questions to the wise and beneficent ministrations of Rev. Rufus Patch.

Among the many efficient private schools of that early day it would be inexcusable to fail to call attention to one that was not only among the first, but one of the best as well—Martin's Academy in Livonia, Washington County. But one school of sufficient grade to be ranked with this has so early a history. That was the Corydon Seminary, founded in 1816.

Martin's Academy was founded by Rev. William Martin, a Presbyterian minister, and opened in the fall of 1819. It continued for many years, Mr. Martin leaving in the spring of 1831 to take charge of the seminary at Paoli. The course of study at Livonia included besides the then common branches—using Walker's Dictionary (in spelling), the New Testament and English Reader, Pike's Arithmetic and Murray's Grammar—the higher mathematics also, Greek, Latin, mental and moral philosophy, rhetoric, logic, and natural philosophy. Among the students there were some from other counties and from distant parts of the State, and from other States even, particularly the South. Fees were moderate, and, as silver was scarce, pay was generally in "trade." Mr. Martin himself, who died in 1850, is still remembered among Presbyterians of southern Indiana as a fine scholar, a successful teacher, and "a royal good preacher." Indeed, it is averred by those who knew him, that so efficient was his school, if he had been less of a minister (seasons of revival sometimes hindered the continuity of the school), Hanover College might have been located at Livonia. While many students afterward became efficient lawyers, physicians, and teachers, the academy became known as a sort of school of the ministry.

But, aside from the generally scholarly training given, the most eminent service rendered by Mr. Martin was in the advanced standing he took upon the education of girls.

Many parents about Livonia, as elsewhere in the State, "objected to their daughters studying arithmetic or learning to use the pen." But from the beginning Martin's Academy was coeducational from principle. The principal's daughter* subsequently became his assistant. Sisters were allowed to attend the school with their brothers. They dropped, occasionally, into the same classes. They were encouraged to follow the same course. Mr. Martin talked, and wrote, and preached, and taught the reasonableness of the common education of the sexes. His school was a convincing witness of the wisdom of what was then an experiment in education. This, let it be remembered, was almost three quarters of a century ago, when the precedent both East and West was against such policy. It was pioneer work, in a pioneer State, under the most unfavorable conditions.

The West Union School, to which reference has been made elsewhere, came a dozen years later, but was yet one of the earliest, very few schools of any sort having existence before, and among Protestant denominations, but one—Hanover Academy. The West Union School was established by Friends in 1832, in a settlement near what is now Monrovia, Morgan County. It was put under the care of the White Lick Meeting, and, while admitting pupils to elementary classes, maintained for thirty years a course of instruction for the more advanced as well. This higher course some time after 1860 was extended and enriched, and for a dozen years longer did eminent service for not only Morgan County and the Society of Friends, but for the surrounding country and people of all denominations.

From Joshua and David Lindley, in the earlier years, to J. A. and Edward Taylor, in 1875, when the school closed, a generation was so educated, as were generations elsewhere in Indiana, as not only to make the present system possible, but the old academies no longer necessary.

* Now Mrs. Martha A. Venable, of Erie, Kansas, to whom the author is indebted for many interesting facts of this and other schools.

Fifty to seventy-five years ago private enterprise more often helped out the public system than now. Indeed, State contribution was reduced to a minimum, and the dominant influence for a generation was individual enterprise. Still the movement was generally co-operative—personal effort supplementing or re-enforcing the public provision. It was an interesting experience, though not always the most profitable.

Among all the schools that grew up by this united effort, one of the most successful and of substantial growth was the so-called New Albany School. The town of New Albany was laid out by the Scribner brothers in 1813, a stipulation of the sales being that "one-fourth part of each payment upon the lots should be paid into the hands of trustees, to be chosen by the purchasers, until such payments shall amount to \$5,000, the interest upon which should be applied to the use of schools in the town for the use of its inhabitants forever." Under these provisions a school was incorporated January, 1821, and opened two years later, which in 1853 was merged into the city system established by the new law. For thirty years before high schools were known by name in the State this was a high school in every sense of the term. Teachers here were scholarly and fairly paid. There was an attempt at a graded course. Instruction was of a high grade of excellence.

Two schools of higher grade than the academies mentioned, though fairly belonging in their general features to the "seminary period," were La Porte University, chartered in 1841, and St. Gabriel's College, located at Vincennes, two years before (1839). While they were meant to be degree-giving institutions, their best work was in the line of a liberal academic training.

The institution at La Porte was designed to be a school of high rank, and to include literary, medical, and law departments. The law school was immediately opened, under Judge William Andrew, and the medical department the year following. In 1843 the literary department was organ-

ized, absorbing the Lancasterian Academy of La Porte, continued until 1845, and closed for want of funds and patronage. In 1851, other schools having opened at Ann Arbor, Chicago, Indianapolis, and Lafayette, the medical department also at La Porte closed. Instruction in law had been abandoned some years before. Nevertheless, the school was, in ways, eminently successful. Rev. W. K. Marshall was president and the life of the institution—a man of vigor, liberal culture, and educational insights. There was a large faculty—eight in the medical department alone (1846)—a building with accommodations for two hundred students, a liberal charter, and full university powers. The institution had perhaps the first dissecting-room in the State.

St. Gabriel's College, after years of opposition, was finally chartered as a college in 1841, and started out with great promise. It had been opened as a high-grade secondary school in 1839 by Brute, the Bishop of Vincennes. J. P. Bellier was the scholarly president, and an agent of the institution was sent to Europe to engage professors for the leading branches. Among these were included, in the phraseology of the announcement, men "who have devoted their lives to the business of instruction, and have received their education in some of the most distinguished colleges of Europe." The building of the Vincennes University was purchased and fitted up for one hundred students. It was furnished with philosophical apparatus, and an extensive library begun. A botanical garden was projected "to contain the greatest possible variety of plants."

The course covered nine years, five of which were to be of collegiate rank, and include instruction in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Spanish, Italian, French, German (the last two by professors to whom the tongues were vernacular), geology, botany, anatomy, physiology, music, painting, and drawing; and its completion was to be followed by the usual academic degrees. Four classes were graduated. The patronage of the institution was from Fort Wayne, Logansport, Terre Haute, and elsewhere in Indiana, and from St. Louis, Nat-

chez, Vicksburg, and even New Orleans. Many were Protestants, and the school was regarded as among the best in all the Mississippi Valley. In the faculty, also, were John B. Chase, Francis Leray, August Martin, M. Murray, and Mr. Vabret—all scholarly men and eminent in their day.*

Two other institutions in northeastern Indiana of early note were the "Union Literary Institute," in Randolph County (1846), and the Liber College, in Jay County, a few years later—in both of which Rev. Ebenezer Tucker taught for many years, and in the latter Rev. I. N. Taylor. In Liber College, a few years later, and in La Grange Collegiate Institute were educated hundreds of young men and women, liberally for the time, at little expense practically, and with wholesome views of life. Such schools were truly the colleges of the people. They made the best secondary learning available, if not to all, at least to many.

The Union Literary Institute was established by anti-slavery friends, in the heat of the abolition movement fifty years ago (1846), for the colored youth of both sexes, and was long known as the "Nigger College." The school holds a charter from the State, requiring that "no distinction shall be made on account of race, color, rank, or wealth." It was and is yet managed by a board representing different denominations and both the negro and white races. Ebenezer Tucker was the first principal, serving from 1846 to 1854, and again from 1873 to 1879, and was one of the original

* It should be noted that Bishop Brute had, about 1835, after a tour through France, during which considerable funds were collected, undertaken in a vigorous way the task of general education in that section of the State in and around Vincennes. Provision was first made for the education of the clergy; then "free schools" for both boys and girls, "without regard to religious belief"; night schools; and, finally, as above, the college. This, let it be remembered, was so early that few men in Indiana of any class or belief could be found committed to the "free-school idea," much less undertake its realization. An interesting and valuable article in the *Catholic Record*, Indianapolis, for May 21, 1891, presents the case strongly for Bishop Brute as one of the first advocates, if not "the originator and founder of the free-school system of Indiana."

trustees. The management at present includes J. F. Cousins, principal, employed by the directors, and an assistant hired by the local township trustee.

Similar in general character to these might be named also the Laurel Academy and Brookville College, in Franklin County; the Hopewell Academy, in Johnson County (later in charge of Prof. E. P. Cole); the Maple Grove Academy, in Knox County; the Peru Collegiate Institute (1837); the Orleans Institute (1840); the Bloomingdale (Friends') Academy (1846); the Fairview Academy, in Rush County (1840); the Carlisle School (1835) and Eugene Academy (1829), in Sullivan County; the Olive Branch School, in Tippecanoe County (1835), etc.

After the extremest criticism has been passed upon the deficiencies of the means of general public education during the period, it must be said that for no people or any generation has there been provided more efficient teaching, more generously supported considering their resources, or more generally appreciated, than in these supplementary institutions that made the State honorably famous just prior to and following the middle of the century. On a frontier not yet freed from the swamp and thicket, where there was little wealth and less leisure, in more than a score of towns and country neighborhoods were well-known and prosperous centers of the severest classical and disciplinary culture. No compromise was made with the practical. Their training was altogether "liberal" and general. They imitated the older East in the curriculum, and rivaled it in method and efficiency. The really classically educated, both among pupils and teachers, were relatively far more common then than now.

The entire period shows a wholesome faith in the saving influence of humanistic culture, and an independence of the merely useful and practical, that commands admiration from the most pronounced utilitarianism. But not all high-grade schools of the period were classical and humanistic. A large majority of them were finishing schools, and made no

pretense of fitting for college ; indeed, the training to be had in certain of the seminaries was quite equal to the best which the contemporary colleges offered. From these and others, after a brief preparation, students went up to Crawfordsville, Hanover, Greencastle, or Bloomington for more advanced work than local schools afforded. For the great majority of students, however, the seminary was the local college, and furnished their only formal culture and preparation for life. In these schools, in some instances, was the only formal training of men who afterward became distinguished as teachers, soldiers, statesmen, and professionals.

By a considerable number these seminaries, however, were looked upon with distrust—patronized by the aspiring mediocre and attended by the few ; well enough used by the would-be teacher or professional, but furnishing an education undesirable for the pioneer laborer ; an expensive, unpractical institution, aristocratic, and to be feared. The seminary had opposition even among the educated. An impression prevailed in parts of the East, and before the middle of the century was fast gaining place in the West and South as well, that education should be chiefly industrial, practical, of a calculable business value. Manual industry was needed, so its advocates claimed, both as a means of, and a stimulant to, vigorous mental exercise, and a means of support during the school period, as well as a preparation for the industrial life of the frontiersman, which most students must afterward follow.

The idea of the Hofwyl institution in Switzerland had but recently been imported into this country, and already Fellenberg schools were planted in a number of States—notably one each in Connecticut and South Carolina—that were the precursors, if not progenitors, of our later agricultural colleges.

In New York State had been founded, with more or less success, the Yates School, the Oneida Institute of Industry and Science, the Aurora Manual Labor Seminary, and the Genesee Manual Labor School, all prior to 1835, and all

seeking to combine physical (manual) labor with the acquisition of mental culture. The Franklin Manual Labor College, the Chatham Manual Labor School, the Burnt Prairie Manual Labor Seminary, the Knox Manual Labor College, Illinois College, and Fayette Manual Labor Seminary—all in Illinois, and all before 1840—were of the same character, as appears from their corporation names. Of course, there will be remembered in this connection the more conspicuous example of Oberlin Collegiate Institute, founded in 1833, changed soon after to Oberlin College. This organization included a system of daily manual labor by all students—boys and girls alike—as a means of meeting, at least in part, the expenses of college tuition and living.

So of Indiana. The movement toward a union of manual employment and literary training reached the State, and spread like an epidemic. There were several so-called farmers' academies, not greatly unlike many another high-grade school, except that the classics were less emphasized perhaps, supported as finishing schools, and managed by individuals in the interest of local and generally rural neighborhoods. Conspicuous among these, and somewhat more prosperous for a time, were one each in Clinton and Rush Counties, in the latter of which Dr. A. R. Benton* was at one time an acceptable principal. The Indiana Teachers' Seminary, at Madison (incorporated, but never opened), and the Wabash Manual Labor College,† of Crawfordsville, both chartered in the same year (1834), and both fathered by Williamson Dunn, were avowedly industrial, and meant to be partially, if not wholly, self-supporting.

One of the most illustrious examples (illustrious because of its distinguished promoters and patrons) of this class of school was the attempt—equally fruitless, however—made in 1824 by William Maclure, the early Indiana (Scotch) geologist, Thomas Say, Lesueur, and others at New Har-

* Late President of Butler University.

† Subsequently Wabash College.

mony. Fostered by wealth and patronized by genius, its failure was paradoxical; but upon its ruins rose the Pestalozzian School of Neef, that more than compensated Indiana for the loss, in the presence of the resulting greater honor and really large and substantial services to education.

So, also, the Indiana Baptist Manual Labor Institute* (1836), located at Franklin; the Western Scientific and Agricultural College (1837); the Union Literary Institute (1846), in Randolph County; the Manual Labor Collegiate Institute (1837), of St. Joseph County; the Jeffersonville Industrial and Literary Institute; and the West Point Literary and Agricultural College—were so many attempts to make either palatable or available an education, avoided in the one case by, or in the other out of reach of, classes most needing its advantages.

In 1845, one Henry Thomas, from the East, was instrumental in starting a school at Bloomingdale (then Bloomfield), in Park County, within the limits and under the direction of the "Western Quarterly Meeting" of Friends. Thirty acres of land were purchased, a school-house erected, and finally a shop. Onions and other vegetables were cultivated, bench work was attempted, and both combined with book studies. The labor did not prove to be profitable either for commercial or educative purposes, but the land remained and the name was soon changed to "Western Agricultural School," and in 1859 to "Bloomingdale Academy," as now known. From 1851 it was a high-grade academic school, and for sixteen years had Barnabas C. Hobbs as principal.

School legislation during the period was chiefly tentative, and most attempts at schools were but gropings. The manual labor experiments were only more obvious examples of an unwise policy. Whatever may be its final pedagogical significance, the movement described in four States, and which may be studied in as many more, was a "craze," and soon ran its course. The schools, one and all, failed, or

* Now (since 1844) Franklin College.

were, after a few years, transformed into the traditional literary institutions.

Almost the sole exception to this statement, if it may be an exception, was the Union Literary Institute, in Randolph County, founded in 1846 by Rev. Ebenezer Tucker, and to which reference has been made elsewhere. It was an institution exclusively for colored people, and one of the most successful of its kind. Student labor was an essential factor in its administration, and was made apparently a wholesome educative agency, as it was nowhere else in the State.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SEMINARIES (Continued).

ANOTHER characteristic which belonged to most of the better seminaries of the time was the semi-professional bias they exhibited—looking to the training of teachers for the common schools. How great was the need for this service the present generation is not in condition to understand.

In Early School-days, Dr. B. C. Hobbs notes that "the pioneer teachers were generally adventurers from England, Scotland, or Ireland, or from the East in this country, who sought temporary employment during winter while waiting for an opening for business." Teaching was made to pay the expenses of a tour of observation. "Another class," the same writer elsewhere mentions, "were men unsuccessful in trade, or who were otherwise disabled. Successful men rarely continued in the business." In 1834, another puts it, "teachers were poorly qualified, and there was no suitable means for their improvement." Prof. Mills inveighed against "placing their (the children's) intellects and hearts under the instruction of those whose incompetency is as notorious as the paltry and contemptible sum they demand for their services," and sought from the Legis-

lature a provision that public funds should "not be expended in the payment of services by other than men of well-trained minds and unblemished morals.*

Apprehensive of the seriousness of the situation, Governor Noble, also, in his message to the Legislature in December, 1833, recommended that seminaries be fitted to instruct and prepare teachers, and suggested that the "Saline Fund † be applied to one or more institutions for the preparation of young men as teachers for the township schools on the manual labor system." A similar suggestion had been made to the New York Legislature by the Board of Regents of that State in 1821, again in 1828, and by the Superintendent of Common Schools to the same body in 1831; in this last year two academies reported "principles of teaching" among the studies pursued. The responsibility thus voluntarily assumed by the New York academies was incorporated into a law of the State Legislature May 2, 1834. The problem there was the problem in Indiana. The need was a common one and widely felt. Governor Noble perhaps borrowed the notion, but was voicing a popular sentiment.

In the autumn of 1832 Judge Williamson Dunn and other interested and public-spirited men took steps looking toward a school in Crawfordsville. It was to be denominational in control, collegiate in rank, and was the fourth such school in the State. Land was donated, money subscribed, a house erected, and on January 15, 1834, the institution was chartered under the corporate name of "Wabash Manual Labor College and Teachers' Seminary," with E. O. Hovey, Williamson Dunn, J. A. Carnahan, Samuel G. Lowry, James Thompson, John S. Thompson, Martin M. Post, and John Gilliland as trustees. Pupils were to be instructed in agriculture and mechanical labor. The trustees were directed by the Legislature, however, "to make it one of their first and

* Extract from Second Address, December 6, 1847.

† Derived from lands granted to the State by Congress (1816) and authorized to be sold (1832) for the support of schools.

for a time their most prominent objects in their efforts to promote literature, to provide the means for conducting an English scientific department in the institution, with special reference to the qualification of teachers of the common schools." This special though literary training was the original purpose of the founders, it would seem, but the Legislature declined to grant a charter unless under some such practical name as the above, there being "a prejudice," as it has been expressed, "against colleges, pianos, and Yankees."

By the founders the school was meant to be, and for many years was only, a school of general culture, which, it was hoped, "might grow into a college." The manual labor element was neither prominent nor permanent, and what was then understood by the "preparation of teachers," may be inferred from the claims of its originators. Prof. Mills, writing in 1883, planned "an institution where teachers, both male and female, should be trained," but revealed his notion of this professional training in saying that "it is a matter of higher importance to secure the right teacher for the English department than for the classical, because he will fit teachers for the common schools." It is not clear that the school did more of this preparatory work than did other contemporary institutions. What it did was of the best. But that best was still academic.

Within three weeks* of the opening of Wabash Seminary "The Indiana Teachers' Seminary" was incorporated at Madison, with Williamson Dunn, again, and others as trustees. This also was, in the words of the statute, to comprise "a system of manual labor blended with instruction in literature, in such a manner as to be most conducive to health, mental improvement, and the support of the students." No record is preserved that the seminary was ever opened. It was simply a part of an undefined, so uncertain, but spirited movement toward the bettering of the schools—one more

* February 1, 1884.

only of many unrealized efforts on behalf of public intelligence and the general welfare.

But not all attempts were failures. Incidentally, the established seminaries of the time, both public and private, had already contributed to the qualification of teachers, and occasional better teaching was the result. The instruction was not always nor often professional; the academic training was generally meager. But in the decade from 1840 to 1850 hundreds of young men and women passed directly from the seminaries to the township schools as principals, assistants, tutors, etc. The first normal school in the United States had just been established,* and few educators, whether East or West, and fewer yet of legislators and politicians, saw anything in professional training but larger and more accurate scholarship. So that academies were fairly regarded as teachers' schools in proportion as their students became teachers. In this sense a few such institutions were eminently professional.

The New Harmony Community School and the Washington County Seminary were opened about the same time (1826), and, in the way named above, both educated teachers for all southern Indiana.

In the "Community School," as teachers, were Francis Joseph Nicholas Neef, Pestalozzian educator, author, and teacher; his daughter, Mrs. Evans; Robert Dale Owen and Prof. Richard Owen; William Phiquepal and M. D'Aras-mont; Mrs. Fauntleroy, a sister of the Owen brothers; and J. Blackwood. What pioneer people were ever so blessed with genius and learning! It was a new Yverdun or Burgdorf on a Western frontier.

Neef, the founder, had been a student of Pestalozzi, his representative in Paris, and expounder of the system. Brought to this country by William Maclure, in 1806, he established and for nearly twenty years was principal of a Pestalozzian school in Philadelphia, and in 1826 came by

* At Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1839.

invitation to New Harmony. Here, in what was modestly known as "the school," were prepared the first teachers in a formal way perhaps in all the West. Mr. Neef's Plan and Method of Education, published in 1808, and his Methods of Teaching, five years later, were among the first pedagogical treatises in America, and almost a generation before Prof. S. R. Hall's Lectures on School Keeping (1829) and Page's Theory and Practice of Teaching (1847). This Pestalozzian theory found admirable exposition in the Community School for both young men and young women, to whom it was more than a model school in their later teaching; it was at once an inspiration and a liberal training.*

The administration of John I. Morrison, comprising nine years in the County Seminary and a longer period in the Salem Female Seminary, was scarcely less fruitful of good to the common schools; indeed, it was a sort of training school for seminary principals and teachers as well. The work was almost wholly academic, providing only occasional talks or lectures on didactics. But it is no small privilege to have learned the simplest lesson only, from a real teacher. The ways of the Salem school were significant of the "best method." So that many young teachers, and older ones too, went away from a term or a year with John I. Morrison having clearer aims and purer motives, not less than studious and accurate habits of mind. They were better teachers, primarily because they were better men and women, but equally because of the enthusiasm for truth and the unselfish interests incident to training in a real school. A large percentage of the students from Salem taught, and the school in this way came to be regarded, and became, a training class for the township schools—indeed, not infrequent-

* "The Advantages of the Pestalozzian System of Education" constitutes an interesting chapter in a volume by Mr. William Maclure, published from the School Press, at New Harmony, in 1831. The volume is entitled *Opinions on Various Subjects*, and gives an interesting exposition of the "Industrial System of Education," and other kindred topics. See vol. i, chapters x to xxx.

ly for other seminaries as well. The school continued this service under James G. May, and to a degree under other principals, long after our present school system was inaugurated—even up to the time of our State Normal School.

The records of the Randolph, Delaware, and Henry County Seminaries show numbers of teachers enrolled and not infrequent withdrawals during the term to take charge of schools. In these seminaries, as in others perhaps elsewhere in the State, special classes were sometimes formed for teachers. After its publication, in 1847, Page's *Theory and Practice of Teaching* was used as a text, particularly by Prof. E. P. Cole, in Winchester, as Hall's *Lectures on School Keeping* had previously been in a few schools. Besides these and other county seminaries, as those at Centerville, Danville, Logansport, and Vincennes; or private schools, as the Beech Grove Seminary, the Cambridge City, Hanover, and Eugene Academies, the Orleans Institute, and Carlisle School—all contributing more or less to the thorough scholastic training, and so the fitting of teachers in a way—the La Grange Collegiate Institute, under Rufus Patch, and Liber College, under Ebenezer Tucker and I. N. Taylor, did perhaps most in this respect.

Another worthy service, and one not generally ascribed to the schools of this period in any State, was the fairly satisfactory, though by no means adequate provision, made for the education of girls.

Nominally, the county seminaries were open to both sexes; as a matter of fact, in several counties they were poorly patronized at best, and only by the boys. The considerable number of schools for females suggests at least a prejudice against the education of girls with their brothers. The opposition was not peculiar to Indiana or the West. The State, fifty years ago, had no decisive precedent on a large scale commending co-education—certainly, not in advanced studies. Indeed, co-education was the exception

rather than the rule in States then having established elementary school systems.

So an impulse was early manifested, and greatly forwarded by most of the leading teachers of Indiana, toward the establishment of separate schools for girls and young women. The records show fourteen such schools for girls prior to 1850. Among the earliest of these was the Greencastle Female Seminary (1830), celebrated for the long, Christian, and motherly, but equally scholarly, service of Mrs. Larrabee, wife of the first superintendent of public instruction in Indiana. It has been claimed, and perhaps justly, by both recent and contemporary writers that "the academy furnished to the young ladies of the community equal advantages to those of the college" (Asbury). Other teachers in the seminary were Dr. J. Tingley, Prof. George A. Chase, and Prof. Dean, after whom the school was closed.

In 1833 was established the Monroe County Seminary. Prior to this at least thirty other counties had secured their acts of incorporation, though not so many perhaps had been put into actual operation. Indiana College (so called 1828-1838) was open to men only. It provided both secondary and collegiate training. For them no further seminary privileges were either required or asked. The fund was slowly accumulating. July, 1829, it was reported to be \$443.89. A lot had been acquired, but no provision had been made either for a building or a school. In the winter of 1832 the people of Bloomington and vicinity memorialized the Legislature to divert the funds set apart for such purpose to the use of a female seminary. This was readily accomplished through an act of the General Assembly, January 29, 1833. "The said seminary," so the law reads, "shall be exclusively confined to the education of females, who may be taught therein any of the languages, sciences, fine arts, ornamental branches, general literature, and such other branches or departments of education as the said trustees *

* The trustees named were John Bowland, John Hight, William Alex-

may authorize." The curriculum and the organization were much the same as in other seminaries. Children of all grades were entered, and after a few years both sexes admitted without discrimination. Drawing, painting, music (instrumental), and French were taught, but regarded and charged for as extras. The training given was not, and was not meant to be, the scholastic equivalent of that offered in the neighboring college, but it was for a quarter of a century a severely thorough secondary training that attracted young ladies from adjoining counties.

Prof. Cornelius Perring, the first principal, was an educated English teacher, but just arrived in America when, in 1833, he took charge of the Monroe County Female Seminary. His administration of sixteen years covers most of the history of the institution as a public school. Throughout this period it was a ladies' seminary exclusively, and graduated more than six hundred students, many of whom became teachers. Prof. Perring was followed by Mrs. E. P. McFerson (1849-'57), during whose service the building was disposed of, as provided by the new Constitution, and the school continued only as a private interest. Prof. E. P. Cole had charge of it from 1857 to 1863. As late as 1860 it had one hundred and sixty-nine students, about one fourth of whom were boys. So far as known, this is the only instance in the State of such diversion of the public funds from general to special seminary purposes. Few schools, however, show a more satisfactory record of efficiency and prosperous management. It was a school for the State.

The Salem Female Seminary was founded in 1835 by John I. Morrison, and was conducted many years by him as an independent private institution. It was not less efficient, and scarcely less noted among schools, than the Washington County Seminary, which did so much under Morrison to fix the character of academic work in southern Indiana. The

ander, James D. Robertson, F. T. Butler, Austin Seward, Richard Hardesty, Ellis Stone, and John Graham.

Female College at Fort Wayne was soon afterward united with the Methodist Episcopal College (for boys) established in the same year, and the work made co-educational throughout. A similar school was opened by the Presbyterians at Charlestown, in Clark County, about the same time (1846), under the influence of the pastor, H. H. Cambern, with Rev. George I. Reed as principal. A like school also was that under B. Leffler, at Covington, whose course included both elementary and higher branches, the sciences, three languages besides English, and had a liberal patronage.

The Rockville Female Seminary (1840), and a similar one established at Crawfordsville in the same year, the De Pauw Female College at New Albany (1845), and the Fort Wayne College two years later, must not be construed either to mean so much an aggressiveness of separate-schools advocates as a growing recognition of the right of girls and women to the larger education which they were otherwise denied.

Following these, but still prior to the inauguration of the State system of schools, though late in the period, were the Indiana Female College, Indianapolis (1850), of which Prof. George W. Hoss was president; the Presbyterian Female College at Valparaiso (1850); the Goodwin Female Institute, at Lafayette (1850); the Princeton Female College (1850); the La Porte Female Institute (1853),* founded and managed by W. H. Churchman; and the Martinsville Female Seminary (1854), under the care of M. L. Johnson. Altogether there were perhaps fourteen or fifteen institutions organized prior to 1854 for the exclusive education of girls and young women. They were of academic grade, including, however, both elementary and secondary classes, and admitting all ages. Further, they were private or denominational, except the Monroe County Seminary, and all supported by fees. The Indiana Female College noted above was under the control and patronage

* Burned in 1856, and never rebuilt.

of the conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Indiana, and was "designed to be the equal of the best female colleges in the United States."

Prominent among the high-grade schools where co-education was practiced were those in Delaware and Randolph Counties, with thirty-eight per cent of girls in the total enrollment for a number of years, and that in Henry County, averaging forty per cent. Morgan County Seminary admitted both sexes and was patronized by a considerable territory in central Indiana outside of the county. It was a superior institution, excluding for the most part the smaller children, and being chiefly devoted to advanced work. W. H. H. Terrell, subsequently adjutant-general of the State, and the Rev. Thomas Conley, both well known, were teachers here. The Washington County Seminary was another school of this class. Admitting both sexes to the same classes, "its success in this respect," says a former member of the school, "has put to rest, in the minds of those who were educated there, doubts of the economy or desirability of co-education."

Altogether, this early seminary period was one of the most important and most fruitful of good to the State of any in our history. The seminary was an inspiration to the elementary schools; it furnished teachers and fed the colleges, and cemented community interests, and invited settlers and civilized the frontier, as almost no other influence could do. Its mission was elevating and sympathetic. Notwithstanding occasional opposition, its tendency was conservative and wholesome, and its influences remain in the better educational movements of the present day.

CHAPTER VIII.

CALEB MILLS AND THE LAW OF 1849.

ONE chapter yet remains in the educational developments in Indiana under the first Constitution. The period was pregnant with great movements. While little had been accomplished, many things had been attempted. Within thirty years from her organization as a State Indiana had, besides numerous modifications in the way of supplemental and special legislation, enacted four comprehensive and independent school laws. As yet there was no system. With an elaborate code,* there were few schools. An army of officers effected but a nominal service. Among Hoosiers, even forty years ago, State education had many and vigorous opponents. Elementary education was chiefly conspicuous through neglect of it, while all other was more or less antagonized. Free schooling of any grade was thought by many to be dangerous to the State and subversive of the highest individual good. It was undemocratic. One member of the General Assembly, in 1837, is quoted as saying, when taxation for school purposes was under discussion, "When I die I want my epitaph written, 'Here lies an enemy to free schools.'" Three years later, according to the sixth census, in a union of twenty-six States, Indiana stood sixteenth in the scale of literacy. In less than ten years it fell to the twenty-third place.

It was said by a contemporary: "The state of common education is truly alarming. Only about one child in eight between five and fifteen years is able to read. The common schools and competent teachers are few." Of nearly three hundred thousand children of school age in the State less than fifty thousand were in any sort of school. "A sparse population made it difficult to sustain schools," says a recent

* The school law, as given officially in the Revised Statutes of 1843, chap. xv, comprises six articles and one hundred and forty-two sections, covering twenty pages.

monograph, "even if there had been a strong desire to do so. But since few of the people had enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education, limited instruction in the most elementary branches satisfied their desire for learning. As a consequence, before the first generation (of pioneers) had lived out its time many thousands of native adults could neither read nor write, and many others possessed no higher intelligence than those who know not the alphabet."

A comparison of Indiana with the other States, touching illiteracy, is presented in the following table, adapted from Prof. Mills's second message, in 1847:

Table of Illiteracy by States—Census of 1840.

STATES.	Over twenty years.	Illiterate.	Per cent.
1. Connecticut.....	168,843	526	·0032
2. New Hampshire.....	149,911	942	·0062
3. Massachusetts.....	403,761	4,448	·011
4. Maine.....	284,177	3,241	·0138
5. Vermont.....	144,186	2,270	·0157
6. Michigan.....	96,189	2,178	·0226
7. Rhode Island.....	56,835	1,614	·0284
8. New Jersey.....	166,964	6,385	·0382
9. New York.....	1,155,522	44,452	·0385
10. Pennsylvania.....	765,917	33,940	·0443
11. Ohio.....	638,640	35,394	·0554—1 in 18
12. Louisiana.....	79,000	4,861	·0615
13. Maryland.....	154,087	11,605	·0753
14. Mississippi.....	73,838	8,360	·1132—1 in 9
15. Illinois.....	198,413	27,502	·1386
16. Indiana.....	268,052	38,400	·1432
17. Missouri.....	131,679	19,457	·1477
18. Kentucky.....	242,974	40,018	·1647
19. Alabama.....	180,900	22,592	·126
20. Delaware.....	27,629	4,832	·1749
21. Virginia.....	329,959	58,787	·1783
22. South Carolina.....	111,659	20,615	·1846
23. Georgia.....	160,957	30,717	·1903
24. Arkansas.....	80,552	6,567	·2149
25. Tennessee.....	248,928	58,531	·2351
26. North Carolina.....	209,685	56,609	·2699
Total.....	6,374,207	544,538	·0854

It appears from the table, as it has been noted elsewhere in this volume, that Indiana stood sixteenth in the list, sur-

passed by every other Northern and by three Southern States. To thoughtful contemporaries the exhibit must have been disheartening. The average illiteracy of the twenty-six States was eight and a half per cent; of Indiana, fourteen and one third! Excluding Indiana and Illinois, the illiteracy of the North was but one in forty; in Indiana, it was one in seven! Indeed, the average for the three Southern States, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Maryland, was but little more than half that of Indiana. Further, the average illiteracy of all the Southern States was but two and a half per cent greater than that of Indiana. Prof. Mills estimated that while the State was paying not less than \$250,000 a year for the legal punishment of criminals there was regularly expended less than half as much for the education of her children.

Table of Illiteracy of Indiana by Counties—Census of 1840.

COUNTIES.	Over twenty years.	Illiterate.	Per cent.
1. Putnam (Asbury).....	6,091	1,021	•1678
2. Montgomery (Wabash).....	5,519	1,058	•1917
3. Fountain.....	4,881	874	•2011
4. Huntington.....	812	131	•2140
5. Hendricks.....	4,175	924	•2212
6. Tippecanoe.....	5,641	1,246	•2203
7. Washington (Salem).....	5,932	1,332	•2245
8. Green.....	3,071	740	•2409
9. Daviess.....	2,668	667	•2500
10. Lawrence.....	4,330	1,085	•2505
11. Park.....	5,171	1,314	•2541
12. Scott.....	1,622	470	•2897
13. Owen.....	2,014	793	•3937
14. Warwick.....	2,441	715	•2929
15. Rush.....	6,061	1,789	•2956
16. Gibson.....	3,471	1,524	•3007
17. Orange.....	3,630	1,167	•3214
18. Hamilton.....	3,777	1,271	•3365
19. Dubois.....	1,459	532	•3648
20. Clay.....	2,006	733	•3678
21. Jackson.....	3,411	1,412	•4139
22. Martin.....	1,490	620	•4161
23. Wayne.....	9,349	42	•0040
Total.....	88,262	20,989	•2377

The preceding table presents the condition of twenty-three counties, one fourth of the entire State, in all of which the illiteracy is greater than the State's average; and yet in two thirds of them were more or less flourishing county seminaries, two were the seats of colleges, and all belong to the better class, both industrially and politically.

The average illiteracy for the twenty-two counties (excluding Wayne) was more than twenty-six and a half per cent; Hamilton, Orange, Gibson, and Rush Counties, each reported as illiterates one third of their adults; Washington County, nearly one fourth; Montgomery, one fifth; and Putnam, one sixth.

Three colleges were founded in this period; two rechartered with university powers; the Indiana University* attached law and medical schools; the first local teachers' institute, the Northern Indiana Institute, and the first State Educational Convention held sessions; institutions were founded for the education and care of deaf-mutes and the blind; more than a hundred schools or societies, educational or benevolent in character, had been incorporated; and the State had spent in fifteen years for public improvements as many millions of dollars; but the general intelligence constantly depreciated.

The State was honored by the citizenship of men eminent in letters and science; of soldiers and civilians; of jurists and teachers; men who were ambitious for the largest good of the Commonwealth—unselfish, patriotic devotion to the general welfare; but by the populace, "schools and the means of education" were neither encouraged nor supported. Learning was at a discount. More than sixty per cent of the State's children (five to twenty-one) were not in school a single day for the year 1846-'47. The public funds distributed were thirty-four cents per scholar. It was said by a contemporary writer that "the lowest bidder for a school, with little or no reference to his qualifications, is generally

* So called after 1838.

the successful candidate." And Colonel J. R. M. Bryant, in the Constitutional Convention, himself a staunch friend of education and in ready sympathy with the public-school movement, said of the contemporary teachers (1851), the "large majority of them ought to be seized by the public authorities and sent to school themselves." The average wages of teachers for the year was, of men, \$12; of women, \$6 per month. In a population of a million there were thirty thousand illiterate voters.

Among all those who saw the calamitous ignorance of the people, and who were ambitious of better things for the State, and whose intelligence and enterprise worked out measures for the general improvement, was one whose contributions to the question were sufficiently definite and sound to be recognized as the chief factor in its solution.

The thirtieth session of the General Assembly met December 7, 1846. It promised to be a busy one. Members from every quarter came burdened with great problems of government; of finance and defense; of internal dissension and the suspicion of neighboring States; and all clamoring for immediate handling. In the *Indiana State Journal* of that date appeared a communication, remarkable in many ways. It was entitled *An Address to the Legislature of Indiana*, and was signed, "One of the People." Its motto was, "Read, discuss, circulate"; its theme was, "Education and the schools of Indiana." After a brief preparatory sentence, commending his message to the consideration of the members, the author says:

"There is one topic which has not received from the Governor,* nor from any of his illustrious predecessors,† for the last ten years, the degree of executive recommendation which its intrinsic importance demands and the good of the Commonwealth requires. . . .

"I have examined the proceedings of the Legislature for

* Governor Whitecomb.

† Including Governors Noble, Wallace, and Bigger.

the last twelve years, in the earnest expectation of seeing the subject of education discussed and disposed of in some degree as it deserves at the hands of the appointed guardians of the Commonwealth. In this I have been disappointed, and I am not alone in my disappointment; for I often hear my fellow-citizens expressing their deep regret at the inefficient character of our common schools and the wretched condition of our county seminaries, to say nothing of a liberal and enlightened policy in respect to our higher institutions of learning."

In such words the case was presented. As marking the magnitude of the interests involved, and as justifying his charge, the author continued: "The true glory of a people consists in the intelligence and virtue of its individual members, and no more important duty can devolve upon its representatives in their legislative capacity than the devising and perfecting of a wise, liberal, and efficient system of popular education. . . . It is, indeed, a favorable circumstance that appropriate and efficient action on this subject will awaken no sectional jealousies, alarm no religious prejudices, subserve the interests of no political party. It is emphatically a topic which, ably discussed and wisely disposed of, will benefit every part of the State, improve every class in the community, give permanency to our civil and religious institutions, increase the social and literary capital of our citizens, and add materially to the real and substantial happiness of every one. Such a system of improvement ought surely to require no log-rolling to secure its adoption by the representatives of an intelligent people, nor will the burden its operation may occasion be reluctantly borne by a community that scorns the repudiation of a debt incurred for the construction of railroads and canals."*

Here is suggested the burden of the "message"—the burden of all the messages,† for five addresses followed this first

* See reference to State debt, p. 89.

† Published about the opening of the Legislature each year: December,

one—the educational need of Indiana, the demand upon the State, the duty of the Legislature, and public taxation for schools. In addition to the two extracts made, this address included an inquiry into the illiteracy condition of the State, general and comparative, and somewhat more detailed studies of the systems of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and Michigan, as emphasizing the inefficiency of the Indiana policy. The causes of this inefficiency the author designates as (1) want of competent teachers, (2) need of suitable texts, (3) lack of community interests in education, and (4) want of adequate funds.

Of the five States mentioned, four (New York excluded) had but just established systems. That in Michigan was barely ten years old, those in Massachusetts and Ohio nine, and one in Connecticut only seven. These States were carefully studied in their school organization, school funds, levying of taxes, supervision, teachers, etc., and their experience largely drawn upon for concrete lessons. In a masterly way for six years these were held before the law-makers, legislative committees, State and local officials, individuals of influence in civil and political life, and the people at large, as a lesson always, sometimes a warning !

Having stated the case in his first message, and fixed the deficiencies of the system, looking to their correction, his recommendations are practical and lucid, including general taxation for the support of schools, the State distribution of a common fund according to the school census, and the election (or the appointment) of county or other local superintendents. This all seems familiar enough and intelligible now, and his recommendations have been very generally adopted, not only in Indiana, but in most recent State systems. But the policy urged was little known then.

Caleb Mills—for he was the author of all six messages—deserves to be held in grateful remembrance by Indiana

8, 1846 ; December 6, 1847 ; December 11, 1848 ; January 7, 1850 ; November 25, 1850 ; December 10, 1851.

teachers, Indiana children, Indiana Legislatures, and all who have interest in Indiana schools or the public morals incident to intelligence.

Prof. Mills was a New Englander, born and educated in New Hampshire. Graduating (1828) at the age of twenty-two from Dartmouth College, and five years later from Andover Theological Seminary, he removed at once to the West, and became first principal of the Presbyterian School at Crawfordsville, just being opened by E. O. Hovy, Williamson Dunn, and others, and that afterward grew into Wabash College. After his graduation at Dartmouth, and before completing the course at Andover, Mr. Mills, then a young man just past his majority, spent two years traveling through the Southwest, including the river and neighboring counties in Indiana, returning to his studies in 1831, greatly impressed with the possibilities no less than the needs of "the western country." His tour had been in the interest of Sunday schools, and revealed to him through long and intimate acquaintance the appalling intellectual and social necessities of the people. Returning in 1833, he brought with him to the State the New England—almost Puritan—idea of education. These two facts—confidence in the regenerations of wisely directed general education and the necessitous spiritual condition of the "Wabash country," coupled with a profound solicitude for the unthinking and indifferent—may serve to explain the very active part of Mr. Mills in the reorganization of Indiana schools in the next twenty years. After 1843, until the time of his death (October 17, 1879), the influence of his views may be traced in almost every important legislative act concerning education in the State.

In a private letter* (since made public), dated March 18,

* For this and for many other facts in the life of Prof. Mills, and concerning the period from 1840 to 1860, the author is indebted to the kindness of President Joseph F. Tuttle, of Wabash College, in whose possession is one of the three sets of Prof. Mills's messages known to be preserved in the State.

1833, prior to leaving New England, he said : " My thoughts have been directed of late to the subject of common schools, and the best means of awakening a more lively interest in their establishment in the western country. Public sentiment must be changed in regard to free schools, prejudice must be overcome, and the public mind awakened to the importance of carrying the means of education to every door. Though it is the work of years, it must and can be done. The sooner we embark in the enterprise the better. It can only be effected by convincing the common people that the scheme we propose is practicable; that it is the best and most economical way of giving their children an education. Introductory to, and in connection with these efforts, we must furnish them with teachers of a higher order of intellectual culture than the present race of pedagogues."

This was the key-note to his service for Indiana during almost half a century. He was now twenty-seven, and when, thirteen years later, he presumed to advise—confer with—the members of the General Assembly he was neither immature nor uninformed of the needs, conditions, and possibilities of education in Indiana. In his first message, as in all the messages, was embodied the wisdom of years of observation and reflection. By preference, by deliberate consecration, by experience, Prof. Mills was a teacher. He had no unwavering faith in the ameliorations and contentments of education in the midst of pioneer life. He easily became one of the "people." Familiar acquaintance with the domestic and social conditions of frontier life gave him both text and sermon, and who would dare to say that the sermon was not well preached ?

Deliberately, then, he sought to arouse the Legislature as the most available means—the rightful instrument—for securing and maintaining the reform. The means must be secular and uniformly administered. In the Legislature the address seems not to have attracted any considerable attention; but by the apathy of those who were in power, not

less than by the dangerous and wide-spread illiteracy, the friends of education were aroused as they had not been.

Early in the year there was held a public meeting of the citizens of Indianapolis, at which a committee was appointed, consisting of Ovid Butler (chairman), Henry Ward Beecher, John Coburn, and others, to provide for a general convention of the State's educators and the friends of education. A circular was issued, including extracts from the recent report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, and a call made for a meeting on May 26, 1847. This was the first of a series of "State Common School Conventions," without an understanding of whose influence any study of the next ten years of school agitation would be only superficial. Their deliberation determined legislation, educated public sentiment, conducted campaigns, and generally reformed the system as no individual could have done.

The convention of May, 1847, was presided over by the Hon. Isaac Blackford, continued its sessions for three days, and represented in its attendance of three hundred the best thought and the philanthropy of the State. Two committees were appointed—one, consisting of O. H. Smith, A. Kinney, and Calvin Fletcher, to lay before the Legislature a typical bill; and a second to prepare an address to be published and distributed to the people. Of the latter, Rev. E. R. Ames was chairman, and had associated with him Jeremiah Sullivan, T. R. Cressey, R. W. Thompson, James H. Henry, Solomon Meredith, and James Blake. The address, as might be inferred, was replete with suggestion, counsel, and appeal. The questions they set themselves to answer for the benefit of the public were these: 1. What is the present condition of our common schools in Indiana? 2. What ought to be their condition? 3. Are there any insurmountable obstacles to our making them what they ought to be?

The first was answered by pointing out that school-houses were wanting, sixty per cent of the children were not touched by the schools, teachers were incompetent, the people of the State were prohibited from levying taxes for the

support of schools, and that, notwithstanding the permanent fund amounted to more than \$2,000,000, the schools were yearly falling into greater disrepute.

Of their future, it was demanded that (1) additional funds should be provided by a general tax; (2) they should be free, "perfectly free, as the dew of heaven, to rich and poor, without the least recognition of pauperism or charity"; (3) they should be made as good as any other schools in the State; (4) a suitable standard of qualification should be erected for teachers, and a corresponding compensation made; (5) there should be provided a superintendent of common schools.

It was argued, finally, that (1) no friend of the genius of our Government could oppose the establishment of a system of free common schools if he would but note the illiteracy; (2) no one who desires the payment of the State debt, the redemption of our credit, and our permanent establishment as a State could oppose them; (3) that as private schools, wherever statistics could be had, were shown to cost from two to four times as much as State schools, no one who would secure to Indiana the cheapest and most efficient mode of education could oppose a State system; (4) that as crime in Indiana was costing already twice as much as education, all who wished to diminish this drain, and "render tenantless our prisons and poor-houses," would favor such proposed system; and (5), finally, no one who wishes to do his duty to the rising generation would oppose a system of free common schools.

The address, in an appendix as well as throughout the text, made copious extracts from reports and other educational documents in neighboring States, and drew to its aid the few pedagogical journals of the country. Here were quotations from Hon. Henry Barnard, Horace Mann, Governor Slade, of Vermont, Governor Briggs, of Massachusetts, the official reports of Ohio, Massachusetts, and Boston, and Hon. A. G. Escher, Minister of Education in Switzerland. It was a masterly production, and fairly cov-

ered the ground. A thousand copies were printed and distributed, and much personal work done by the committee. The address was noticed and even published in full by papers in other States, South and East, but was said not to have received the attention it merited from the Indiana press. Nevertheless, the papers throughout the summer were freely used by correspondents to vent their various views upon the question. One party asked for a central control of the schools, having agents of its own to carry on its operations and the vigor of a department of the Government. County superintendents should be elected, teachers be appointed by him or by a county board, their qualifications specified by law, and all officers paid salaries. It meant system. All this was new. For Indiana it was revolutionary.

It was held by the opposition that "the fact of one man being a Methodist, another a Baptist, a third an Episcopalian, a fourth a Presbyterian, a fifth a Campbellite, a sixth a Roman Catholic, a seventh a Unitarian, and the eighth a Universalist, and all being thrown into the same district, with their heterogeneous and antagonistic principles, produces so much confusion that any prospect of improvement is lost to society." After years of the most disastrous experience, it was urged that the system should be formed on the principle of voluntary associations—schools reporting to the civil authorities, and receiving funds from the public.

The committee on legislation previously mentioned prepared a bill, and at a convention of educators and members of the Assembly held in the House of Representatives, December 8, 1847, made, through Judge Kinney, a statement of its general provisions.

It recommended a poll tax of twenty-five cents and a tax of six tenths of a mill on the property of the State for school purposes, the townships being required to levy an equal amount of local tax. It suggested also a State superintendent, a county superintendent, one trustee in each township, and one in each district, and that the county superintendents in each congressional district should constitute a district

board, one delegate from each of which should together sit as a State Board of Education. To still further increase the revenue, the recommendation provided that two dollars should be collected annually from each State officer, county officer, member of Congress, bank official, lawyer, physician, and other holder of public professional or industrial position, for the use of the schools. Finally, there was suggested an election to be held in the following year (1848), at which a vote should be taken upon the question of free schools.

In the second message of Prof. Mills, published December 6, 1847, and laid upon the desks of members, both Senators and Representatives, as they took their seats in the thirty-first Assembly, there was an elaboration of certain points in the previous addresses, supplemented by a comparative study of the illiteracy conditions of the twenty-six States; an investigation of the congressional township appropriations as managed in Michigan and Indiana; and a somewhat detailed exposition of the essential characteristics of a State system of schools. The requirements, as enumerated in the letter, but doubtless suggested by the State's notorious deficiency, were: (1) Convenient and safe houses and furnishings; (2) sufficient pay to attract teachers; (3) well-trained teachers; (4) uniformity of text-books; (5) efficient supervision—State and county. If it be remembered that this presentation was made at a time when, and in a State where, there were no school-houses outside of cities; where real teachers were few, and the wages were rarely more than a dollar a day; when texts of any grade of excellence were scarce, and every school was independent of every other, the seemingly simple and self-evident requirements become significant. They meant far more then than now. A State system of free, secular, elementary education was the ideal which not only legislators but every citizen must somehow be brought to understand and approve. It was the labor of a generation. What was personal opinion in a few must be slowly worked into the common life. The responsibilities of the State to her subjects made the first lesson.

Throughout the address Prof. Mills writes in the light of, and converges every argument for schools upon, the State maxim, "It is the duty of the State to furnish the means of primary education to the entire youth within her borders." His address was more than an argument; it was a pleading. From the law-makers he appealed to the people; from the people to the Legislature. "We must not be discouraged by ignorance and prejudice," but, "impressed with a just appreciation of the magnitude of the enterprise, the value of the interests at stake, and the obstacles to be overcome," he appeals to those in authority, "let us gather up the experience of the past, and bring it to bear upon popular education, and we shall find in Indiana as cordial friends to the intellectual and moral culture of the rising generation as in any other State in the Union. Awaken the public mind, and concentrate it on the question, 'Am I not interested in the proper education of all that are socially and politically connected with me?'" Few would answer it in the negative now; many did then.

To this same second message, moreover, there were five appendices, supplemented and illustrated by graphic and tabular presentations of—1. Indiana's illiteracy. 2. Education and labor. 3. School sanitation. 4. Illiteracy and pauperism. 5. Parochial and other sectarian schools.

It was a masterly production, and fairly left no ground untouched. Its argument must have been convincing even to the unwilling. Newspapers at various points in the State joined in the discussion. A candidate's attitude on the question occasionally entered as a factor in his local canvass. Representatives from some counties went up to the Assembly "instructed" by their constituents and pledged to work for a more efficient school system; others as emphatically pledged against it.

An argument, cogent and practical, appeared in the Indiana State Journal, December 31, 1847, for free schools. Its spirit was applauded. Newspapers copied. There was much individual interest. As a result of these efforts, inspired

and sustained by the "messages," the "Educational Conventions," the writing and addresses of friends of education, and influenced by the growing illiteracy, the thirty-first session of the Legislature passed an act authorizing the people to vote for or against a tax for the support of free schools.

A bill similar in its general provisions to that recommended by the convention's committee on legislation passed the House and was sent to the Senate, but so near the close of the session that nothing was done with it; instead, there was passed the act referred to, submitting the question of free schools to a vote of the people. It recited as follows:

"Whereas, laws respecting common schools are the most important in a people's code;

"And whereas, a system for the regulation and establishment of free common schools must of necessity be extensive and complex in order to embrace and arrange all necessary points and provisions;

"And whereas, the bill for the improvement of common schools was sent from the House to the Senate at a period so late as to preclude thorough examination and deliberation;

"And whereas, the said bill, even should it become a law, will not, according to the provisions thereof, take effect until after the time appointed for the assembling of the next Legislature; therefore—

"SEC. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That the voters of the State shall, at the annual election, on the first Monday in August, 1848, give their votes for or against the enactment of a law by the next Legislature for raising by taxation an amount which, added to the present school funds, shall be sufficient to support free common schools in all the school districts of the State for not less than three nor more than six months each year.

"SEC. 2. The inspectors of elections at the several places of voting shall propose to each voter presenting a ballot the question, 'Are you in favor of free common schools?' And those who are in favor of the enactment of a law for taxa-

tion as aforesaid shall answer in the affirmative, which answer shall be duly recorded by the clerk of such election; and the result of such voting shall be certified, as is provided in other cases of voting at general elections, to the Secretary of State, and by him certified to the Governor, who shall report the same to the Legislature on the first day of the session."

The law-makers of 1847-'48 were not disposed to assume any new responsibilities touching education. Free schools might be desirable, but their legal establishment in a system must come through the expressed preference of the people. No risk was or could be assumed by the Legislature. The entire official attitude was evasive or apologetic. It betrays no vigorous policy—no plan. Legislation was tentative and full of compromises. In the outcome the voice of the people was clear and emphatic. It must have been a rebuke to the fearful Legislature.

A joint resolution of the same Legislature also invited the friends of common-school education to meet again in convention at Indianapolis to consider the situation.

In the light of present confidence in public schools, this all seems but child's play. Legislation was fearful, politicians carped, religionists were suspicious. The policy was halting and puerile. There seems now almost no excuse for such temporizing and cringing. The delay came neither from ignorance of the need, nor of notable precedent in other States, of the remedy; yet the best legislation touching schools was more or less evasive and partial.

Even before the adjournment of the Legislature the campaign for free schools began, and the friends of the movement in using every agency to help it on were only equaled by its enemies in their efforts to retard it. Partisan politics, sectarian bias, the antagonisms of social classes, and personal preferences were all arrayed against the establishment of State, tax-supported schools.

At the suggestion of the Legislature, and continuing the policy begun the previous year, a third Educational Conven-

tion was held in May, 1848. The meeting was short, but enthusiastic and decisive. Another address was prepared and directed to the voters of the State. Free, tax-supported schools were held up as the poor man's friend, the State's best garrison, and every one's right. The friends of education were urged to hold educational meetings in every town and neighborhood previous to the August election. At the former meeting a permanent State Educational Society had been organized, which now appointed Judge Kinney, of Terre Haute, a special agent "to travel throughout the State and deliver addresses, and endeavor to awaken an interest in behalf of free common schools." Papers were asked to copy the address, which was done much more freely than in the previous year. Many counties were visited, and meetings held and addressed by local speakers as well.

It will be remembered that 1848 was presidential year, and the school question was submitted at the regular election. This greatly complicated matters, and divided the attention. The issue of the Mexican War had reopened the question of slavery and given to the border States, and particularly the border settlements in Indiana, a new significance, dividing communities, and even then political parties and religious organizations into the most radical factions. In the excitement of religious feeling and political bias, and the waverings of industrial and social interest, the claims of general education were sometimes depreciated, if not ignored. Political interests in the years following the war with Mexico were particularly exacting and factious. Children could wait.

The day of election was one well remembered yet by the voters of 1848, involving experience of momentous interests and more than usual excitement. Politicians were divided, and the State canvassed by both the friends and the enemies of the movement. Along with a generous indorsement of schools went in places the most violent opposition. It has been said that in some instances (it is to be hoped they were few) otherwise sober and reputable citizens appeared at the

polls armed to intimidate the advocates of free schools.* To defend or countenance general taxation for the support of schools was, in certain counties, to invite suspicion of one's motives. Its friends were regarded as fanatics and dangerous to the Commonwealth. No State could long meet such lavish drain upon its resources. The objection was not so much to schools as to free, State-controlled, State-supported schools. It was precisely the attitude of Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, a century and a half before; and "but for the persistence of this Virginia sentiment, operating upon and directing the Kentucky, North Carolina, and South Carolina, and other kindred elements, during the formative period of a great State, the Hoosier Schoolmaster had never been written."†

Another class of people objected to free schools because it would make education too common. Schools of any kind were, or should be, for the few, and chiefly for those who could afford private instruction. Strangely enough, however, it occurred in Indiana in 1848, as it had fifty years before in Rhode Island, and elsewhere later, that the most vigorous opposition came from the improvident, the needy, the hand-to-mouth laborer, and the ignorant, who most needed the schools—and the free schools. As a class, they were suspicious of every advance.

"Taxation," it was said by some, "is just, to support our Government and to defend our rights and liberties, but to be taxed to make us benevolent is quite different." Another class intimated that the law was got up by designing men—not the farmers and working men of the State. "Of all men, none were more dangerous than the clergy. . . . There is priestcraft in this scheme," said a writer whose fear of the Church's aggressions led him to disown the truth's best friend—an unrestricted education. In the same strain said another: "The bait is to give our children an education;

* See Indiana School Journal, 1876, p. 298.

† J. M. Olcott, in Indiana School Journal, July, 1876.

the chief object is to religiously traditionize them, and then unite Church and state." "Shall industrious citizens," said others, "be taxed to favor and support the indolent?" Every argument was used that could by any possibility be so construed to the detriment of a public free-school system, and every bias appealed to. Personal interests and party connections, and sectarian prejudices and local history and traditions, were made to contribute to the movement against a free, general, secular schooling.

The actual result of the vote, however, was encouraging. The supporters of free schools were victorious, and fairly so. The returns showed a light poll, 13,052 short of the presidential vote on the same day, though 140,410 voters responded to the question. The affirmative vote stood 78,523; the negative, 61,887.

Of the ninety counties then organized, fifty-nine, or sixty-six per cent of the number, stood for "free schools," thirty-one against them; while of the individual responses, but fifty-six per cent were affirmative*—only six per cent more than half. It was a victory, but chiefly because it was not a defeat. The proposed public schools had many friends—hopeful, patient friends, and intelligent ones—but many enemies, besides many indifferent also. Neither were the administrative and economic values of an educated citizenship greatly appreciated. In an aggregate of \$125,000,000 of capital represented in the vote, something less than two thirds (about sixty-one per cent) stood pledged for free schools. But this was sufficient. Fifty-six per cent of the voting citizenship, sixty-one per cent of the capital, and sixty-six per cent of the districts had henceforth a record on the side of free and general education. The day was won. The majority vote was for State-established, State-supported schools.

A table of the vote by counties is appended, showing the total vote on the question of free schools, the per cent of this

* New York, the year following (1850), voted upon the same question, and out of a total ballot of 249,872 there were cast sixty-eight per cent for free schools.

vote cast for free schools, and the rank of the counties based on this vote.

Table of Free-school Vote, August, 1848.

COUNTIES.	Total vote.	For schools.	Rank.	COUNTIES.	Total vote.	For schools.	Rank.
1. Adams	621	71.5	35	46. La Porte....	1,919	89.2	5
2. Allen.....	2,266	80.6	21	47. Lawrence...	1,927	24.6	83
3. Bartholomew.	2,170	52.4	56	48. Madison ...	1,670	29.2	76
4. Benton	143	78	26	49. Marion	3,386	54.5	54
5. Blackford....	332	73.5	33	50. Marshall....	787	88.7	8
6. Boone	1,640	32.6	72	51. Martin.....	833	40.7	65
7. Brown.....	670	28	78	52. Miami.....	1,462	80.4	22
8. Carroll	1,819	74	32	53. Monroe.....	1,825	20.6	86
9. Cass.....	1,594	80.8	23	54. Montgomery	2,817	30.7	74
10. Clark.....	2,127	62.4	47	55. Morgan.....	2,219	29.5	75
11. Clay.....	1,150	18.8	88	56. Noble	1,112	86.3	11
12. Clinton.....	1,571	70.7	36	57. Ohio	891	77.6	27
13. Crawford	1,114	34.2	70	58. Orange.....	706	8.8	90
14. Daviess.....	1,346	50.7	59	59. Owen.....	1,632	26.4	79
15. Dearborn....	3,039	85.5	14	60. Parke	2,792	34.3	69
16. Decatur.....	2,197	28.6	77	61. Perry.....	846	61.8	43
17. De Kalb....	938	65	45	62. Pike	1,017	24.4	84
18. Delaware	1,523	47	60	63. Porter.....	771	90.5	4
19. Dubois	809	17	89	64. Posey	1,802	58.4	51
20. Elkhart.....	1,761	70.7	37	65. Pulaski.....	246	91	3
21. Fayette.....	1,853	66.2	42	66. Putnam.....	2,955	23.2	85
22. Floyd	2,098	75.5	29	67. Randolph....	1,962	70.7	38
23. Fountain....	1,921	59	50	68. Ripley.....	2,110	52	57
24. Franklin....	2,261	59.7	55	69. Rush	2,696	37.6	68
25. Fulton.....	653	91.3	2	70. Scott	965	69.4	39
26. Gibson	1,606	68.5	40	71. Shelby	2,506	60.2	49
27. Grant.....	1,304	67.5	41	72. Spencer.....	1,087	55.1	53
28. Greene	1,844	25.2	82	73. Steuben	694	82	19
29. Hamilton ...	1,431	39	67	74. St. Joseph..	1,612	93.8	1
30. Hancock....	1,489	41.4	64	75. Sullivan....	1,639	32.5	73
31. Harrison.....	2,287	34	71	76. Switzerland.	2,431	88	9
32. Hendricks ...	2,062	25.4	81	77. Tippecanoe..	2,908	33.7	18
33. Henry	2,476	43.3	62	78. Tipton.....	366	74.6	30
34. Howard	706	55.5	52	79. Union	1,318	44	61
35. Huntington..	880	84.4	16	80. Vanderb'rg	1,288	39	6
36. Jackson	1,423	41.5	63	81. Vermilion ..	1,506	66	43
37. Jasper.....	347	65.4	44	82. Vigo	1,954	51.9	58
38. Jay	690	73	34	83. Wabash	1,696	31.8	20
39. Jefferson....	2,897	76.8	28	84. Warren.....	1,113	35.9	13
40. Jennings...	1,651	79.5	25	85. Warrick....	1,352	39.7	66
41. Johnson.....	1,516	19.4	87	86. Washington.	2,442	25.8	80
42. Knox	1,728	74	31	87. Wayne	3,912	63.7	46
43. Kosciusko ..	1,479	85	15	88. Wells.....	552	79.7	24
44. La Grange...	1,322	86	12	89. White.....	666	84.2	17
45. Lake	339	88.8	7	90. Whitley....	675	87.2	10

A little examination of the table discovers some strikingly significant facts.

Dividing the State by an east and west line along the southern boundary of Marion County, forty-seven of the ninety counties then organized* lie to the north and forty-three to the south. The former contained more territory, the latter one fourth more people. The accompanying table presents an exhibit of the relative attitudes of the two sections upon the question of public free schools :

Table of the Vote by Sections.

	North.	South.	Totals.
1. Total vote on the school question....	64,850	75,560	140,410
2. Total vote for free schools	41,560	36,963	78,523
3. Vote against free schools	23,290	38,597	61,887
4. Majority for free schools.....	18,270	.....	.....
5. Per cent of whole vote.....	64 per cent	.....	.....
6. Majority against free schools.....	.....	1,624	.....
7. Per cent of the whole vote.....	.....	52	.....
8. The net vote for free schools.....	.....	.....	16,636

Of the total affirmative vote, the section north furnished fifty-three per cent, the section south sixty-two per cent of the total negative vote. Of the counties north, nine gave majorities against free schools, aggregating 5,242, while twenty-one of the forty-three counties south gave majorities for free schools of 13,967. Strangely enough, every river county but two—Crawford and Harrison—belonged to this group.

Again, of the twenty-three counties giving majorities for free schools, equal to four fifths of their total vote, all but three belong to northern Indiana ; these counties, in the order of their rank, are: St. Joseph, Fulton, Pulaski, Porter, La Porte, Vanderburgh, Lake, Marshall, Switzerland, Whitely, Noble, La Grange, Warren, Dearborn, Kosciusko, Huntington, White, Tippecanoe, Steuben, Wabash, Allen, Miami,

* Starke and Newton have been set off since.

and Cass; Vanderburgh, Switzerland, and Dearborn alone of that number being located south. Of the remaining twenty, but three are farther than the third tier of counties from the Michigan line.

Further, of the sixteen counties reporting the largest majorities against free schools, thirteen lie below Indianapolis. They comprise Orange, Dubois, Clay, Johnson, Monroe, Putnam, Pike, Lawrence, Greene, Hendricks, Washington, Owen, Brown, Decatur, Madison, and Morgan; Putnam, Hendricks, and Madison being the three fairly called northern counties.

Notwithstanding the denser population, having the older settlements, the established industries, and all of the colleges but one, the most insistent opposition to free schools came from the southern half of the State. The influence of local seminaries and colleges seems to have gone for nothing in the movement for free elementary schools. Monroe, Putnam, Montgomery, and Johnson Counties, the seats of four chartered colleges, in an aggregate vote of 9,113, counted out 6,921 against free schools, or more than three to one! So of the dozen counties maintaining the most prosperous seminaries, Washington, Henry, Morgan, Delaware, Harrison, Lawrence, Parke, and Orange gave more than a two-thirds vote against free schools.* Cass, Jefferson, Randolph, and Wayne Counties show 7,372 affirmative answers out of 10,365.

It must be borne in mind that this was an assault, not against education, but against free schools as a means of providing this education. Southern Indiana, as is well known, was largely settled almost to the middle of the State north by families from Kentucky, Virginia, and the Carolinas. The policy of these States, adhered to for generations, excluded the idea of a free elementary school system, or, indeed, free schools of any kind, except for the pauper class—assuming to provide all needed education through endowed

* 11,984 in a total vote of 17,872.

academies and seminaries or private, rate-supported schools. Among the people of these counties the opinion not only prevailed, but was tenaciously held, that free schooling was a form of charity—a charity which was not needed by the prosperous and well-to-do, and which the poor needing were too proud to accept. Indeed, from the pinched and improvident class throughout Indiana, as in other States, when the question was raised the most violent opposition came. Necessitous and ignorant, they would have none of it. Free schools were “pauper schools.”

Occasional objection came from men of means and business also. Public free schools meant public taxes; taxes were a drain, and taxes for education larceny. Of \$125,000,000 of taxable property represented in the vote, nearly \$50,000,000 were counted as adverse to free general education. Moreover, it was in keeping with a life-long sentiment of these people, in the States from which they came, to look upon all public schools, State-founded, State-supported, and State-controlled, with teachers having public credentials and civil contracts, as a species of centralization, the usurpation of local rights, the infringement of personal and family liberties. A system so constituted involved needless and unjust interference with personal rights, and, touching matters of education, was especially offensive. “It can not in truth be called a free school,” said one, “so long as one reluctant taxpayer is forced to pay.” And the line expressed a not uncommon thought.

Following the taking of this vote upon “free schools” (August, 1848), and in anticipation of the gathering of the approaching Legislature, Prof. Mills’s third message was prepared. It bears the date of December 11, 1848, and was submitted to the members upon taking their seats. Its theme was The Advantages of a System of General Education. In addition to a re-enforcement of his former arguments concerning the raising of school funds, the demand for competent teachers, the need of elementary-school supervision, and the impolicy of partial legislation, most attention

is devoted to a review and careful analysis of the "free-school" vote.

It appears from this survey that of the thirty-one counties furnishing the negative vote, twenty were below the general average of adult intelligence in the State. And Prof. Mills claimed it to be a fair and legitimate inference from numerous facts at hand that "the majorities in many, if not all, of these twenty counties was owing to a want of a thorough understanding of the real character of the question submitted to the people for decision. In many of them," he asserts, "the subject was not discussed at all, nor indeed mentioned by the candidates, and, consequently, thousands came to the polls in utter ignorance both of the fact that such a question was before the people, and also of the true merits of the case. In others of them it was grossly misrepresented, as facts and testimony abundantly prove. While, on the other hand, in many of the counties which gave large majorities in favor of free schools the subject was thoroughly discussed, and the people voted in full view of the real nature of the question."

However partial the victory, and discouraging as were many of the incidents of the contest, Prof. Mills and the friends of education generally saw abundant occasion for congratulation. In this same appeal to the Legislature the author eloquently exclaims: "There was more genuine patriotism in the school vote of last August than was ever expressed at the ballot box since she [Indiana] became a sovereign State. Let the record of that affirmative vote stand as a proof of the existence in our State of the spirit of '76. I rejoice that we have such indubitable evidence of it. I rejoice that we have been furnished with such proof that we are not the degenerate sons of noble fathers, but that we possess the spirit to rebuke selfishness wherever found and however disguised—a kindred spirit to that which pledged life and fortune and sacred honor to the cause of national independence."

And, as if challenging the patriotism and the unselfish

interest of the law-makers whom he sought to move, he asked : "What ought, then, to be the spirit of those who are chosen to carry out the noble, self-sacrificing, and lofty patriotism of such a vote ? What enlarged and liberal views ought such to entertain ? What independence, what freedom from selfishness, what purity of motive, should characterize the executors of such a noble bequest to the present and future youth of our State ?" In the Senate were such men as John I. Morrison, J. H. Holloway, Godlove S. Orth, William Stewart, F. P. Randall, John Beard, all of whom were on the Committee on Education ; and in the House, J. R. M. Bryant, Daniel Kelso, Gilderoy Hicks, and Solomon Meredith. To these men is due, in great measure, the whole-some legislation of the Assembly.

Within a month of their gathering, within the shadow still of the recent election, and in the atmosphere of the State's most earnest campaign against ignorance, the General Assembly had passed "An Act to increase and extend the benefits of the common schools," January 16, 1849—the fifth general school law.

In addition to the general law, acts were passed early in the session making the education of deaf mutes and the blind free, and providing for the security of the school funds ; special acts concerning school lands in fifteen counties specified ; one each concerning school-houses and the duties of trustees ; and two acts of so special character as to deserve mention. The one is entitled, "An Act authorizing the trustees of school district number thirteen (13) in township thirty-six (36) north of range three (3) west, in La Porte County, to levy a tax to build a school-house," but limited the continuance of the law to "the term of two years from and after the first day of January, 1849." The second included a provision that officers collecting or holding seminary funds belonging to the Cass County Seminary should "pay the same over to the treasurer of the Cass County and Eel River Seminary Society instead of to the county treasurer." Both acts are examples of the special and partial legislation that

dominated the State during the period, and against which Prof. Mills so persistently and wisely protested—a form of legislation which, in the last century, ruined the schools of Connecticut and other New England and some Western States, and has always been disintegrating.

Nevertheless, the Legislature of 1848 has been fairly designated the great “Reform Legislature” of the earlier period of the State’s history. It launched the State upon a line of progress persisting to the present day.

Through its initiative came the present Constitution and all its train of improvement, including the subsequent educational provisions. It inaugurated the telegraph system * of the State, chartered thirty railroads, and did much to reform the evils of local legislation.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LAW OF 1849.

THE general enactment, since known as the “law of 1849,” while not long, was comprehensive in its provisions; and, without being revolutionary, was at least the beginning of reform. It is an interesting document, and the text of the law is given, both for its historical connections and as an example of what the best legislative sentiment of the period had worked out on the question of public schools under the old Constitution.

An Act to increase and extend the Benefits of Common Schools. Approved
January 17, 1849.

SEC. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That there shall be annually assessed, collected,

* It is said that every man “who voted to charter the Morse electric telegraph was defeated for re-election, because he had so recklessly voted for an impossibility.”

and paid (as the State and county revenue is assessed, collected, and paid), for the purpose of increasing the Common School Fund, to be appropriated exclusively for the support of common schools: First, on the list of property taxable for State purposes, there shall be levied and paid the sum of ten cents on each and every one hundred dollars. Second, there shall be paid by every person liable to pay a poll tax for State purposes twenty-five cents annually; provided, that all the taxes required or authorized by this act in any provision thereof shall be assessed only upon free white persons, and upon the property of such persons only. Third, a tax of three dollars on each one hundred dollars shall be assessed on the amount of all premiums received in this State for insurance on property or lives, within the same, by the agents of insurance companies not chartered therein. (Omitted, provisions concerning reports and penalties, growing out of the requirements of the last clause.)

SEC. 2. The several taxes hereinbefore mentioned (with the exception of the tax upon premiums of insurance) shall, together with the surplus revenue fund, the saline and bank-tax funds, be and are hereby set apart for the support of schools within the respective counties of the State, and shall be denominated the County Common School Fund.

SEC. 3. The tax upon premiums of insurance, as specified in the first section of this act, shall be paid over by the several county treasurers to the State treasurer, distinguishing the same from other taxes; and the said State treasurer shall apportion the same among the several counties of the State according to the number of polls therein, and pay over to the several county treasurers their respective proportions of the said fund, which shall be added to and become a part of the County Common School Fund. [Revenue?]

SECS. 4-6. [Abolished the office of county school commissioner, his fiscal duties being added to those of the county treasurer, and all other services left to the county auditor; provided compensation—one half of one per cent on all

moneys handled—and construed “county auditor” to mean “county clerk” in certain counties.]

SEC. 7. The treasurers of the several counties shall annually, on the second Monday in March, make distribution of the several funds applicable to school purposes (upon the proper warrant of the county auditor) to the several townships of the county, which payment shall be made to the treasurer of each township; and in making the said distribution the auditor shall ascertain the amount of the Congressional Township Fund belonging to each township in the county, and shall so apportion the amount raised by taxation, the surplus revenue, saline and bank-tax funds, as to equalize the amount of available funds in each township, as near as may be, according to the number of scholars therein; provided, that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to divert the fund commonly called the Congressional Township Fund, or any part thereof, from the objects and purposes for which it was granted by Congress.

SEC. 8. There shall be taught in each township in this State, by legally qualified teachers, for at least three months in each year, as many free schools as may be required for all attending scholars in such township, and it shall be made the duty of the township trustees so to arrange the schools of their respective townships that the schools in each district may be taught an equal length of time, without regard to the diversity in the number of scholars attending the respective schools.

SEC. 9. The business of each district shall be transacted by one district trustee, who shall be elected annually by the legally qualified voters of the district, on the first Saturday of September, at which time also the general meetings of the voters of each district shall hereafter be held, and the said trustee shall continue in office until his successor is elected and qualified.

SEC. 10. It shall be the duty of the district trustee to preside over all meetings of the voters of the district, to keep a record of their proceedings, and report the same to the clerk

of the board of township trustees, where such report may be necessary, to do and perform all such acts, matters, and things as may be required of him by the board of township trustees; he shall make all contracts, purchases, and sales necessary to carry out any vote of the district, for the procuring of any site for a school-house, building, hiring, repairing, or furnishing the same, or disposing thereof, or for the keeping any school therein, and all payments shall be made by the treasurer of the township trustees, upon the certificate of the district trustee as to the performance of the service or labor, or the conveyance of the property contracted for; and whenever from any cause the said district trustee shall not be present at the meeting of the voters of the district the meeting shall appoint a chairman, who shall for the time being discharge the duties of such trustee.

SEC. 11. The district trustee shall act as the organ of communication between his district and the board of township trustees, and shall make to them from time to time such suggestions as may advance the educational interests of his district, and shall, on or before the fifteenth day of September annually, certify to the clerk of the board of township trustees the number of scholars in his district, male and female, between the ages of five and twenty-one years, distinguishing between five and ten and ten and fifteen and fifteen and twenty-one years of age; the whole number of scholars admitted to the school, the average attendance, the length of time a school has been taught, whether by a male or female teacher, the branches taught, the books used; whether the district has a school library, and if so the number and value of the volumes, the condition of the school-house, the furniture thereof, and of what the furniture consists; and the clerk of the board of township trustees shall certify the same to the county auditor before the first day of October annually, together with a statement of the amount expended in the several districts of their township for tuition and all other expenses.

SEC. 12. In cases where any school district may be formed

out of portions of adjacent townships, the report of the district trustee shall be made to the clerk of each of the townships in which such district may lie.

SEC. 13. It shall be lawful for the qualified voters of any school district in the State, at any general or special meeting thereof, to vote a tax for the purpose of building a school-house or repairing the same, or providing fuel, or such furniture, maps, books, and apparatus as a majority shall deem proper; they may also, for the purpose of continuing their schools after the public money shall have been expended, vote to raise by tax such an amount as the majority may deem advisable; provided, however, that the aggregate amount of all taxes, so levied by a vote of the district, shall in no case, in any one year, exceed the amount of fifteen cents on each one hundred dollars' worth of property.

SEC. 14. When any tax is voted to be paid in labor, it shall be worked out under the supervision of the district trustee; and when any person charged with a tax payable in labor shall fail to discharge the same after two weeks' notice to comply with the proper requisition, the district trustee shall report the same to the clerk of the board of township trustees, whose duty it shall be to bring suit therefor in the name of the board of township trustees for the use of the proper district, and a recovery shall be had at the rate, if any established, for commutation, if not, at the rate of 75 cents per day, and an execution shall be issued thereon, which shall not be subject to any relief whatever from valuation or appraisement laws.

SEC. 15. When any tax is voted by any district to be paid in money, the district trustee shall make a list of all the taxable property within the district, together with the names of the owners, and shall file the same, together with the votes of the meeting, directing the same to be levied with the county auditor.

SEC. 16. [Providing for the assessment and collection of said taxes, and their payment to the said township.]

SEC. 17. The district shall be laid off in such manner as

to be most convenient for the population and neighborhoods thereof, paying due regard to any school-house already erected, districts already laid off, and other circumstances proper to be considered, and shall be formed to contain, if convenient, not less than twenty-five scholars. And the board of township trustees shall have power to change any school district under their charge, so as to increase or diminish their size, and may consolidate two or more into one, or may add parts of one or more to others; and the trustees of adjacent townships may form a district out of parts of such townships, but no subdivision shall be made to reduce the number of scholars below twenty-five in any district. [Provided for thirty days' notice.]

SEC. 18. In order to enable the trustee of the district to make the reports which are required of him by this act, the teacher of each and every school district shall, at the expiration of the term of school for which he shall have been employed, furnish to the district trustee a full and complete statement of the whole number of scholars admitted to said school, the average attendance, the length of time the school has been taught, the branches taught, and the books used; and until said report shall have been furnished by the teacher as aforesaid, it shall not be lawful for the district trustee to issue the said teacher the certificate entitling him to his compensation as such teacher.

SEC. 19. Until the clerk of the board of township trustees shall have made to the county auditor the reports required by the 11th section of this act, the township of which he is the clerk shall not be entitled to its distributive share of the school fund.

SEC. 20. On or before the first day of November annually the several county auditors shall report to the treasurer of State, as superintendent of common schools, the substance of all reports made to them by the several township clerks of their respective counties, and also the number of unorganized townships in their respective counties, if any, the amount of territory not laid off into school districts, the

number of acres of school lands remaining unsold, if any, and whether the same is improved or unimproved, productive or unproductive.

SEC. 21. It shall be the duty of the treasurer of State, as superintendent of common schools, to condense the reports of said auditors, and submit the same to the General Assembly during the first week of the session thereof.

SEC. 22. [Providing for pay of school officials.]

SEC. 23. [Providing for penalty for failure to discharge official duties.]

SEC. 24. [Providing for salary of the superintendent of common schools.]

SEC. 25. [Providing for the organization and control of fractional townships.]

SECS. 26-27. [Providing for the transfer of school funds by the commissioners to the county treasurers.]

SEC. 28. Any State, county, or township officer, having the charge of any of said school funds, who shall embezzle or appropriate to his own use any of said school funds, shall, upon conviction, on presentment or indictment, be fined in any sum not exceeding four nor less than two fold the amount so embezzled or appropriated to his own use, and be imprisoned in the county jail for not more than six months, at the discretion of the court or jury trying the same.

SEC. 29. Whenever school-houses have been erected by private liberality, and schools established therein, it shall be lawful for the trustees of the township in which the same may be situated to recognize the same as a public school, and to make such allowance thereto as may in their judgment be just and equitable.

SEC. 30. [Repealing conflicting acts.]

SEC. 31. This act to be in force from and after its publication in the Indiana Journal and State Sentinel, with this exception, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent the distribution of the school funds in March, 1849, under the laws now in force ; provided, however, that the several counties of this State be and they are hereby

exempted from the provisions of this act, until said counties respectively assent thereto; and for the purpose of securing such assent, at the annual August elections, held in the several townships in said counties, the inspectors shall propound to each person when he presents his ballot, the following question, to wit: "Are you in favor of the act of 1848-'49, to increase and extend the benefits of common schools?" the answer to each of which interrogatories shall be noted down by the clerks of such elections, and the number voting in the affirmative and negative, certified by the inspectors of said elections to the county auditors of their respective counties, at the same time required by law to make returns of such elections; and whenever a majority of those voting at such township August elections in any of said counties are in favor of this act, then the same shall take effect and be in force in such county; and until such assent is given in each of said counties, the vote for and against this act at each succeeding August election shall be taken, as above in this section provided, in each of said counties so refusing its assent thereto.

It shall be the duty of the sheriffs of said counties annually, during the pending of the question as to the adoption of this act, to give notice thereof by posting up written notices at each precinct or place of voting in their several counties, and by publishing the same in a newspaper when one is published in the county, at least thirty days before such elections. All laws on the subjects of common schools now in force in said counties to continue in force therein until this act shall have been adopted by them severally, as herein provided, anything in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.

As may be seen, the law abolished the office of county school commissioner, which had been a part of the system for sixteen years; retained the three school examiners in each county, authorized by the law of 1837 and reaffirmed in 1843, as also the three trustees of each township; but very wisely substituted one trustee in each district in place of the

three as the former law had provided. The treasurer of State was still held to perform the functions of the superintendent of common schools. Upon the whole, the system had been somewhat simplified. Fewer officers, by some hundreds, were required to administer it, and service was more direct. A minimum school term was prescribed, schools made of equal length throughout each township, and an elaborate system of records and reports devised, through teachers, district and township trustees, the county auditor and treasurer, the superintendent of common schools, and the Legislature, that left as inexcusable any ignorance of the system.

The really great forward step taken in the law, however, was in legalizing public taxation for the support of schools. It suggested an entirely new policy. It introduced new elements into legislation, and immeasurably dignified education. Public taxation meant something of system, and hinted at permanency. This included a one-mill county tax, a twenty-five-cent poll tax, a three-cent tax on the business of foreign insurance companies, and a possible levy of one and one half mill to the dollar for district building tax. These were to supplement or be supplemented by the proceeds of the Surplus Revenue Fund, the Saline Fund, and the Bank Tax Fund, besides the income of the Congressional Township Fund, reserved to the respective townships, all of which in the aggregate would, it was estimated by Prof. Mills, yield an annual income, from 1848 to 1850, of not less than \$250,000.

The entire policy marked a radical change in school administration, and in many points for the better, but both contemporary discussion and subsequent observation and experience early discovered certain vital defects in the law.

First, no provision was made for schools or schooling in cities and towns. The rural districts only were regarded. The seminaries were supposed to serve the county seats, and outside of county seats the towns in the State were few; but many counties had no seminaries, and of those that had, the

majority enjoyed a limited patronage only. The first town and city schools were chiefly private.

Again, the State adoption of private schools, as provided in Section 29, made too frequently the State to be only a follower, leaving the initiative to be taken by private and local enterprise. The public funds were farmed out; schools were independent and unequal. In a so-called system, there was neither organization nor unity. At best, it was scarcely more than a district, the local trustee, with a few statutory limitations, being practically left to his own judgment or guided by that of the householders in all school matters. In the regulation of the school term and in the distribution of the funds the township was made the unit, and very wisely. This is a phase of the Indiana system, initiated early, but remodeled in 1852, and in which the State takes justly great pride even to-day.

Once more, all revenues, whether State or local taxes or the proceeds of invested funds, and excepting the tax upon the business of foreign insurance companies, were distributed in the counties where collected. This perpetuated one of the most vicious policies to which State schools were ever subjected. As the more populous and wealthy centers were left free to maintain their own schools, so with the improvident and needy. What was a privilege to one was a burden to the other. There was no State system. To each locality (county) was left the responsibility of educating the children of that locality. What one section did easily and liberally, another did feebly and badly, or not at all. The richer counties might have school systems; elsewhere, schools appeared to be only a luxury.

But, more than all other mistakes, the law was to be accepted or rejected by counties at the polls in the summer of 1849. The field once contested must be gone over anew. Every good feature was subject to rejection by ballot. The period intervening between its passage in January and the election in August was a trying one for the friends of the law, and offered one more opportunity for its enemies. The

former had labored for years to secure a general levy, or legalized local taxes, for the support of schools, and when secured it was compromised by an offensive collateral that made the law at best little better than the old one. The latter found in the postponement only another lease of life to antagonize and obstruct.

The campaign of 1849 was a memorable one even for Indiana. As in 1848, but far more generally, the State was canvassed by the friends of public education, who were everywhere vigorously confronted by its enemies. "Free schools" was a not uncommon theme for politicians and preachers. Counties, townships, and precincts were "worked" both for and against the law. Constituencies were measured, candidates were pledged, and all the devices of early-day politics employed to direct the final vote. From its opponents came in general the same objections to the law that were urged in the canvass upon the abstract question of "free schools" during the summer of 1848. The objecting classes were not greatly changed. This was the rule. There were exceptions.

First, it was claimed that education is a private responsibility. Each parent, because he is a parent, must be left to decide for himself the quality and extent of education allowed his children. If not the function of the family, then of the Church. It might perhaps be a religious but not a State duty. Of all the objections urged in Indiana or elsewhere this was the oldest. A Catholic, writing to the *Free-man's Journal*, a little later, but under the inspiration of the same campaign, refers to "the unlucky and un-American State free-school law," and said: "We were the first and have been the sternest and the deadliest enemy of the State free-school oppression. The whole State school system is foreign and antagonistic to the American political institutions and traditions. . . . Our opposition to the State school system will be seen to have been as truly for patriotism as for religion."

In places, also, the poor objected to paying taxes for the

support of any school whose management admitted alike the children of the rich. This could only mean unfair privileges to the affluent and the genteel at the expense of labor and indigence; or the schools rejected by the rich, because they could afford a more exclusive education, were also rejected by the poor because they bore the pauper mark. Inexplicable as it appears, in the establishment of school systems poverty has ever been slow to see its own great advantage. With little to pay and much to receive, it carped at one and doubted the other. Then and in our State, as often and elsewhere, the impecunious were the most critical.

But the property holder was not more wise. Men of means, among opponents, objected to the law as compelling them to pay for the support of schools out of all proportion to their patronage of them. Private schools and local seminaries were frequent enough, and more to their liking. Why should they be asked to pay for the schooling of those who were better suited to their station without it?

Again, it was objected that a State-directed and fund- or tax-supported system tied all up in a system, leaving parents and guardians no room for choice in directing the culture of their children. Admitting education to be a public responsibility, there must be the minimum of system and the maximum of local and parental control. The law proposed, however, was held to be prescriptive and coercive, and so dangerous.

One of the two more common exceptions perhaps taken came in the form of the modern objection to compulsory education—it was not in harmony with the genius of our Government. The law, as proposed, set limits to individual rights, while our American institutions were meant to secure to the individual the largest immunity from external authority.

Still, further, it was urged—and this was the reserve argument of the demagogue and the third-rate stump speaker—the public treasury of no people, whether of the country or the State, could bear the expense of a system of schools

that should offer to educate all. However desirable it might be to have a generation or a citizenship so educated, the taxation necessary to accomplish it would bankrupt the State. The industries of the people were but just recovering after a decade of financial depression incident to a system of internal improvements and unfortunate speculation, and the possibility of an expensive organization of State schools led a certain grade of men of all classes to shrink from the responsibility. The State, already greatly involved, should not sanction any system of general taxation for schools until the existing embarrassment was removed.

Veterans who had schooled their children in pay schools objected that it would be unfair to be taxed to support schools they could not use. This was answered in true Yankee style: "Why should those who do not travel be taxed for roads? Why should honest, virtuous, peaceable citizens be taxed to support a government? . . . Well, now, I guess the reason is because they are citizens, and have a common stock share in all the benefits of the community, and all its liberties too."

The campaign closed for the time being with the August election, whose results, by counties, are given in the following table : *

Vote by Counties.

COUNTIES.	Free-school vote, 1848.	Per cent for free schools.	School-law vote, 1849.	Per cent for school law.
1. St. Joseph.....	1,612	93·8	1,598	80·4
2. Fulton.....	653	91·3	810	86·5
3. Pulaski.....	246	91	369	94
4. Porter.....	771	90·5	800	83·8
5. La Porte.....	1,919	89·2	1,927	80·9
6. Vanderburgh.....	1,283	89	1,153	84·8
7. Lake.....	339	88·8	453	93·1
8. Marshall.....	787	88·7	665	83

* Adapted from Prof. Mills's fourth message, January 7, 1850. The whole address is an admirable presentation of the conditions and significances of the vote.

COUNTIES.	Free-school vote, 1848.	Per cent for free schools.	School-law vote, 1849.	Per cent for school law.
9. Switzerland	2,431	88	2,157	84·3
10. Whitley.....	675	87·2	In favor.	....
11. Noble.....	1,112	86·8	In favor.	....
12. La Grange.....	1,322	86	1,086	75·7
13. Warren	1,113	85·9	1,129	78
14. Dearborn.....	3,039	85·5	2,662	74·7
15. Kosciusko.....	1,479	85	1,512	70·6
16. Huntington.....	880	84·4	In favor.	....
17. White.....	666	84·2	577	72·6
18. Tippecanoe.....	2,908	83·7	2,539	79·2
19. Steuben.....	674	82	835	77·5
20. Wabash.....	1,696	81·8	1,623	71·4
21. Allen	2,266	80·6	1,613	70
22. Miami.....	1,462	80·4	1,559	62·8
23. Cass	1,594	80·3	1,781	80
24. Wells	552	79·7	685	75
25. Jennings.....	1,651	79·5	1,624	70·5
26. Benton.....	143	78	171	72·8
27. Ohio.....	691	77·6	835	68
28. Jefferson.....	2,897	76·3	3,338	78·1
29. Floyd.....	2,093	75·5	2,158	75
30. Tipton.....	366	74·6	390	51·5
31. Knox	1,728	74	1,500	68·4
32. Carroll.....	1,819	74	1,513	66·7
33. Blackford	332	73·5	399	59
34. Jay.....	690	73	546	53·8
35. Adams.....	621	71·5	743	71·7
36. Clinton.....	1,571	70·7	1,647	53·5
37. Elkhart.....	1,761	70·7	2,036	58·9
38. Randolph.....	1,962	70·7	1,575	59·5
39. Scott.....	965	69·4	1,013	50·3
40. Gibson.....	1,606	68·5	1,756	59·7
41. Grant.....	1,304	67·5	1,326	57·4
42. Fayette.....	1,853	66·2	1,357	50
43. Vermilion.....	1,506	66	1,529	75·4
44. Jasper.....	347	65·4	440	62·7
45. De Kalb.....	988	65	815	55·2
46. Wayne.....	3,912	63·7	3,462	59·2
47. Clark.....	2,127	62·4	2,279	61
48. Perry.....	846	31·8	952	53·4
49. Shelby.....	2,506	60·2	2,293	59·5
50. Fountain.....	1,921	59	1,879	70·7
51. Posey.....	1,802	58·4	2,125	71·5
52. Howard.....	706	55·5	918	47·4
53. Spencer.....	1,087	55·1	In favor.	....
54. Marion.....	3,886	54·5	3,652	52
55. Franklin.....	2,261	54	2,363	54·8
56. Bartholomew.....	2,170	52·4	In favor.	....
57. Ripley.....	2,110	52	1,844	52·7
58. Vigo.....	1,954	51·9	2,287	50·2

COUNTIES.	Free-school vote, 1848.	Per cent for free schools.	School-law vote, 1849.	Per cent for school law.
59. Daviess	1,346	50·7	1,505	40·7
60. Delaware.....	1,523	47	1,600	41
61. Union.....	1,818	44	1,223	58·5
62. Henry.....	2,476	43·8	2,794	50·5
63. Jackson.....	1,423	41·5	In favor.	.....
64. Hancock	1,489	41·4	Against.	.....
65. Martin.....	833	40·7	782	31·5
66. Warrick.....	1,252	39·7	1,281	60·5
67. Hamilton.....	1,431	39	1,855	28
68. Rush.....	2,695	34·6	2,990	44·7
69. Parke.....	2,792	34·8	2,624	44·5
70. Crawford.....	1,114	34·2	997	27·5
71. Harrison	2,287	34	2,224	43
72. Boone.....	1,640	32·6	1,677	33·8
73. Sullivan.....	1,639	32·5	In favor.	.....
74. Montgomery.....	2,817	30·7	2,960	37
75. Morgan.....	2,219	29·5	2,458	40·4
76. Madison.....	1,670	29·2	Against.	.....
77. Decatur.....	2,197	28·6	2,484	53
78. Brown.....	670	28	581	36·1
79. Owen.....	1,682	26·4	1,756	44·9
80. Washington.....	2,442	25·8	2,613	39·7
81. Hendricks.....	2,062	25·4	1,787	30·4
82. Greene.....	1,844	25·2	1,952	40·8
83. Lawrence	1,927	24·6	1,950	35·6
84. Pike.....	1,017	24·4	986	21·8
85. Putnam.....	2,955	22·2	2,940	33·8
86. Monroe.....	1,825	20·6	1,757	31·8
87. Johnson.....	1,516	19·4	1,794	33·6
88. Clay.....	1,150	18·8	1,203	42·6
89. Dubois.....	809	17	759	11
90. Orange.....	1,706	8·8	1,808	19·8

Certain lessons of the vote are easily seen now, and were then.

Speaking accurately, the questions at issue in the two elections were not the same. In the former, citizens were asked to state their preferences, as between free, State-supported schools on the one hand and private or denominationally controlled schools on the other. Those were not unfrequently opposed by men greatly interested in education; the latter favored as founded by the rightful authority of the family or the Church. In the second election, a specific law was submitted to the public will. Here, of course,

was room for indefinite diversity of judgment. Sectional tendencies, party interests, local conditions, church movements, and familiarity with or ignorance of the law modified the vote upon it.

In general, those counties giving largest affirmative votes in 1848 show as a class the largest majorities also in 1849 ; and in the same sense the opposition to the law came chiefly from the opponents of "free schools." Nevertheless, a majority for "free schools" in 1848 did not necessarily mean assent to the particular system proposed in the law of 1849. By some of the best counties even the latter was thought to possess features so objectionable as to call forth fierce opposition. Votes in places were greatly changed. Communities in sympathy with a closer organization of State education forces fought the proposed law, permissive and subject to rejection, as a step backward. Other neighborhoods encouraged or opposed it as public sentiment was or was not favorable to general education. Its local-option feature opened the way for a free expression of individual opinion, and revealed a great diversity in the various sections of the State.

St. Joseph County, standing first in the State in 1849 for "free schools," had shifted to the ninth place on the acceptance of the law the year following. Two counties—Howard and Daviess—that in 1848 gave 94 majority in favor of a State system, reported in 1849 127 against the act submitted. On the other hand, one county—Decatur—changed a majority of 939 against a tax-supported system into a majority of 150 in favor of the law. Lake County changed from the seventh to the second place; Switzerland, from the ninth to the fourth; Cass, from the twenty-third to the tenth; Jefferson, from the twenty-eighth to the twelfth; Vermilion, from the forty-third to the sixteenth; Posey, from the fifty-first to the twenty-third; Decatur, from the seventy-seventh to the forty-ninth; and Warrick, from the sixty-sixth to the thirty-fifth. The change in these counties was obviously the result of a vigorous canvass of the ground,

and a mark of an improved public sentiment upon education.

Thirty-two counties, chiefly in southern Indiana, increased their favorable vote, while fifty-one counties (sixty-three per cent of them north) diminished theirs. Among the best counties, as St. Joseph, La Porte, Porter, La Grange, Wabash, Allen, and Miami, this cutting of the vote varied from six to twenty per cent.

The total vote upon the school question in 1848 was 140,410, with a majority in favor of "free schools" of 16,636, or an affirmative ballot of 86,841. The year following 142,391 votes were cast, giving a majority in favor of the law of 15,767, or a total affirmative ballot of 86,963. The affirmative vote, as compared with the total vote, had been diminished by a small fraction.

Moreover, of the ninety counties in the State, fifty-nine voted for the law (forty-six of them being northern counties) and thirty-one against it. Of these, twenty are southern in location and settled from the South.

The closing section of the act had provided that the several counties should be exempted from its provisions until they had given their assent thereto. Those refusing its privileges in 1849 were to be given annually thereafter, in August, an opportunity to revise their vote. Several counties of the State never assented to the act, the former laws remaining in force instead.

PART THIRD.

UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION, 1851-'91.

CHAPTER X.

THE SECOND CONVENTION AND ARTICLE VIII OF THE CONSTITUTION.

JANUARY 15, 1849, two days prior to the passage of the educational bill, the Legislature had voted to submit the question of a constitutional convention to the people. The movement was received with favor, and at the election in August of that year the privilege was asked by a large vote. In accordance with this expression, the Assembly at its next session, January, 1850, passed an act formally ordering an election of delegates.

The convention gathered October 7, 1850, and continued in session until February 10, 1851. It was composed of one hundred and fifty members, among whom, notably, were Horace P. Biddle, John P. Dunn, Robert Dale Owen, Thomas A. Hendricks, William H. English, Schuyler Colfax, Daniel Read, John I. Morrison, W. M. Dunn, J. M. Borden, John S. Newman, John Pettit, Douglass McGuire, James R. M. Bryant, William S. Holman, David Wallace, etc. It was a dignified body of capable men, met for a great purpose, and generally impressed with their responsibility.

It had been apparent to public men for years that the time was approaching when the political, commercial, and general interests of the State would make a new constitution desirable. Various questions, some of them of large

and far-reaching import, were to come before the convention. The slavery problem was and had been troublesome, and was daily becoming more so. On the border between the North and South, with more than half its territory, and that the earliest settled, peopled by immigrants from the slave-holding States, and allied by her industries with the same section, it is not strange that Indiana found the race * question clamorous for settlement.

Besides, the State's internal improvement system had led to factions. While the debt had been somewhat diminished, the interest regularly met, and so public confidence in a measure re-established, the taxes had been greatly increased, and the burden became heavy. Not only a large debt but a loose, unsatisfactory banking system made finance doubtful, and lent little encouragement to manufacturing enterprise or commercial investment. Trade was narrowed and industrial intercourse was reduced to a minimum. With a tax valuation in 1850 of nearly \$140,000,000, less than \$8,000,000 were invested in manufactures, with an annual product of about \$19,000,000.

The laws of the State touching property and capital neither contributed to the freedom or security of investment nor invited public improvement. Besides, the illiteracy of the State was appalling. In a population of less than a million the total illiterate adults numbered 73,299, and illiterate voters 40,000. The State had eight institutions for higher learning, including Earlham College and Notre Dame University, opened during the decade, the former by the Friends and the latter by the Catholics; and Vincennes University reorganized. Its seminaries, as provided for by the old constitution, were neither respectably supported nor likely to be.

A generation of State experiment had changed both the conditions of common schooling and the standards of effi-

* The negro population in Indiana, 1850, was 11,262, about 1·2 per cent of the total census.

ciency therein. So that the public began to demand, not only a better digested system, but larger and more generous provisions for its administration. Not less in education than in political and industrial affairs was felt the need of a revision of the Constitution. "Every step in legislation seemed to involve the system in greater expense and difficulty, until inefficiency, confusion, and waste seemed to be the legitimate offspring of our legislation on the subject."

Simultaneous with the meeting of the convention was the publication of Prof. Mills's Fifth Annual Message. It was suggestive and opportune. It consisted of four letters, directed to the members of the convention, and published in the *Indiana Statesman*: No. I. Concerning the Congressional Land Grants; No. II. Concerning Educational Funds; No. III. Concerning School Libraries and Teachers' Training Schools; No. IV. The University of Indiana. An extract or two from this address will fairly set before readers the problem presented to the constitution-makers forty years ago.

"In the prosecution of your labors of Constitutional revision," said Mr. Mills, "the subject of education will claim a share of your attention. There is no portion of constitutional revision more worthy of your careful consideration—none involving more vital interests—none more intimately connected with the highest welfare of the people in all their relations and pursuits, civil, social, and commercial—none which, wisely and liberally defined and incorporated in the fundamental law of the Commonwealth, will reflect greater honor on your body, or that you will recall in after years with higher satisfaction. None of the contemplated alterations and improvements of our present Constitution which may result from your deliberations will be received with more general or cordial satisfaction by the great masses of your fellow-citizens, than a constitutional guarantee that wise and efficient provision shall be made for the proper education of the present and future youth of Indiana.

"Whatever reforms in the other departments may be desirable and, by your wisdom, be incorporated in a new

Constitution, it is obvious that nothing will contribute so essentially to carry out and render permanent these reforms as the general diffusion of knowledge and the universal education of the rising generation. It is a peculiarly fortunate and happy circumstance that on this subject the popular will has been repeatedly expressed within the last two years. A State vote of 16,636 majority on the abstract question of free schools, and a county vote of sixty-one for and twenty-nine counties against the subsequent school law, with all its imperfections, may very properly be regarded as an expression of the popular will of no equivocal character. Indiana has acquired no little reputation and distinction among her Western sisters by her educational votes for the last two years.

" . . . The lapse of thirty-four years (1816-1850) has wrought a wonderful change in our circumstances and resources, requiring corresponding modification of measures. It has also demonstrated the infelicity of some of the provisions, and shown that the hopes awakened by others are doomed to utter disappointment.

"The wide contrast between the number and the pecuniary ability of the constituency of the first convention and that of the present population and wealth you have the honor to represent may be inferred from the State taxes of 1816 and 1849, and from the votes cast for Governor in 1816 and at the presidential election of 1848. The State tax assessed in 1816—the first year of our independent sovereignty—was \$6,043.36, while the same assessment for 1849 was \$508,537.81. The gubernatorial vote for 1816 was 9,147, while the electoral vote for 1848 was 153,462.

"These facts show why the educational provisions of our present Constitution, when formed, were little else than 'good devised,' since the pecuniary ability to execute its generous and philanthropic purposes was necessarily meager. If such noble sentiments were entertained, and such provisions incorporated in the fundamental law of an infant State by its framers, what may not be justly expected from

their successors assembled thirty-four years after to revise and remodel that Constitution when no such incubus of poverty rests upon our State to paralyze our efforts and to mock our hopes? Our resources are sufficiently developed to authorize all reasonable and necessary drafts on them for the support of a wise and efficient system of popular education."

Nor was Prof. Mills alone in his crusade against ignorance and public indifference. The people throughout the State, especially in the more developed sections, were fairly aroused on the subject of education. They differed as to its establishment; wrangled over taxes; members of churches were jealous and suspicious of one another; politicians temporized; and a few offered unconditional opposition. But most agreed as to the necessity for some immediate and systematic effort at general education. Frequent articles appeared in the papers, not at the capital only, but in the suburban press throughout the State. The question of free schools was vigorously handled by both sides, and the probable action of the convention discussed in advance. Local meetings were called and petitions presented. Much antagonism and occasional bitter feeling were engendered.

The friends of education, however, used well the intervening summer; the learning and culture and capital of the State were on the side of free, State-supported schools. In the tri-weekly State Journal between May 6 and July 24, 1850, appeared a series of articles signed "Delta" and entitled Common Schools. In a plain, unpretentious, but sometimes striking, and always intelligent way the author discusses "the nature of the right of property, and whether Government may justly appropriate a part of every man's estate" to the general good—physical and moral—and how and under what circumstances. "If, then," the writer continues, "the Government is bound to support the child in certain cases and to provide for its physical wants, it is bound, also, by laws paramount to any human enact-

ment, to educate that child; for to preserve its mere animal life without providing for its higher interests is a curse. Better that life should become extinct than that the child should grow up in ignorance, upon which error and all its fearful consequences depend. . . . Here, then, rests the first claim of a succeeding generation upon the preceding; and, to meet these claims, property must be transferred, not in the form of houses and lands and money, but in the form of physical comfort, the means of knowledge, and a training to virtue and truth." In one issue was a detailed and convincing argument setting forth the money value of educated labor; in another the economy of public schools as compared with private ones. Again were summarized the lessons from other States.

Dr. Daniel Read also, of the State University, delivered, December 30, 1851, in the House of Representatives at Indianapolis, a stirring address on The Means of promoting Common School Education, that was printed and widely circulated.*

It seems now, indeed, that the friends of a really liberal scheme for general education left no phase of the question untouched, and lost no opportunity to bring home to the Constitution-makers, the law-makers, and citizens generally, the momentous import of the prevalent social conditions, and the great promise of reform through a comprehensive and wisely administered free-school system for the State. The approach of the convention only afforded an occasion for a more specific consideration of the old question before an open door. It gave room for renewed hope.

The convention itself was regarded as a fit subject of education; and the friends of public schools used every opportunity to enforce the needs of the State, the conditions of right schooling, and the claims of legislation. Much personal work was done with influential members. Constituents exercised their sovereign rights; and among the

* See State Documentary Journal, 1851-'52, part ii, p. 347.

delegates themselves public-spirited members lobbied for the educational article in advance.

The permanent chairman of the convention was George W. Carr. The Committee on Education consisted of nine members, with John I. Morrison, of Salem, and delegate from Washington County, chairman. The other eight were James R. M. Bryant, of Warren, Edwin R. May, of De Kalb, W. W. Hitt, of Knox, W. C. Foster, of Monroe, A. C. Stevenson, of Putnam, W. F. Nofsinger, of Parke, Dixon Miligan, of Blackford, and James E. Blythe, of Vanderburgh.

Throughout the four months of their sitting the labors of the educational committee were arduous in their nature, and greatly impeded by opposition and studied impediments both from the body of the convention and from within the committee.

It was claimed, as it had been claimed before for a generation, that education was not a part of the State's function; by others that elementary education only belonged to the public, all higher education being left to private enterprise or denominational zeal. Again it was urged, and passionately urged, that even elementary training should be made free to those only who were unable, because of poverty, to find it in private schools. It was asked by Mr. Hendricks, in the convention, "that the Committee on Education be instructed to report an amendment to the second section of the ninth article of the Constitution providing that the Legislature, in the establishment of a general system of education, shall not provide for, or establish, at public charge, any schools or institutions of learning other than district or township schools." This would have excluded cities again entirely, all secondary education, and State aid to the university. The sentiment expressed in the resolution in a measure prevailed, for, in the constitutional provisions for schools finally approved, no mention is made of any but "common schools."

The resolution, as referred to the Committee on Education, is significant as voicing not only a strong sentiment against

public secondary and collegiate institutions, but an equally emphatic sanction of the long-practiced policy of the State to assume no responsibility for schools in the towns and cities. "District or township schools" only were held to lie within the province of the State's authority; so strong was the opinion still that the education of the young was a private responsibility, only to be assumed by the public under adverse circumstances.

A somewhat similar resolution was offered by Mr. Ristine also, to the effect "that the Committee on Education inquire into the expediency of abolishing the county seminary system, and the State University also, and of so amending the Constitution as to compel the Legislature to enact the necessary laws for the sale of the property of said institutions, and to apply the proceeds thereof to the use of the common schools."

Again, religious zeal forty years ago led to the founding and encouragement of denominational schools—colleges in particular—in whose interests members were outspoken, asking State recognition and some financial aid, or the discontinuance of public appropriations to the university. On November 30, 1850, Mr. Borden, a prominent member of the convention from Allen County, asked by resolution "that the Convention inquire into the expediency of annually dividing the interest of the University Fund among the several colleges of this State, in proportion to the number of students in each of said colleges during the year."

The objection, let it be borne in mind, was not against higher education as such, but against the State support of higher education. The impediment to education in Indiana had not then, and has not since been, an avowed opposition to learning in itself (albeit there has been frequently manifest a painful indifference toward it), but to State-founded, State-supported, and State-controlled systems and schools. Even Prof. Mills himself, than whom no man has contributed more to the dignity and efficiency of Indiana schools—both elementary and superior—repeatedly and earnestly

urged the distribution of all university funds among the several colleges, and the inclusion of all the superior institutions, of whatever origin, under one control. Indeed, the care of the university funds, and the reorganization of the colleges of the State, were made the subject of Prof. Mills's fourth letter to the Constitutional Convention.

The work of the committee (being a revision of Article IX of the first Constitution), as reported to the convention, was amended in two important particulars.

The original draft provided that, "in order to furnish the common schools of the State with efficient and well-qualified teachers, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to establish in the State University a Normal School, wherein students shall be admitted upon such conditions and instructed in such subjects as shall be prescribed by law." The section was excluded from the article by a large majority. The oldest of the only four normal schools in the United States was at that time barely a decade old, and it need not perhaps seem strange that law-makers and others high in authority saw little demand for trained teachers in Indiana. Even when the need was seen, how to meet it was neither recognized by the many nor agreed upon by the few. Ten years later leading educators in Indiana could still be found who denied the feasibility of public training schools for teachers.

Early also in the sittings of the convention a resolution had been offered (by Mr. Chapman), and was strongly supported, "that the convention inquire into the expediency of establishing, in connection with and subordinate to the office of Secretary of State, a bureau of agriculture *and a bureau of education*; the duty of each of which shall be to collect and diffuse such appropriate information of general public interest upon the subjects specified in the title of each bureau as may be directed by law." Governor Whitcomb also, two months later, in his message to the Legislature, made the like recommendation, fully aware, as were others, of the need of some sort of State oversight, but fearful of

any organization that hinted at a centralized control of schools.

Throughout the conference of the committee Mr. John I. Morrison, its chairman and one of its most intelligent members, asked a provision for the election of a State Superintendent. He received no encouragement from his colleagues, and went before the convention finally with a minority report, asking the adoption of an eighth section, as follows: "The General Assembly shall provide for the election by the people of a State Superintendent of Public Instruction, to hold his office for two years, and to be paid out of the income arising from the educational funds, and whose powers, duties, and compensation shall be prescribed by law."

Some members sought to amend by substituting county superintendents for a State Superintendent, and making county auditors eligible to the office; but the motion was lost, and the original resolution finally carried by a two-thirds majority. How much the present generation owes for the wise, generous provisions of the Constitution to such men as John I. Morrison, J. R. M. Bryant, and Edwin R. May, can not even be estimated. The deliberations of the committee have never been made public;* but the speeches of members of the committee in open session emphasize the importance of the services to education of such men as those named above and their colleagues, who stood for State education when State education was unpopular.

The article, as finally adopted, is here inserted in full. It is short, but unmistakable in its meaning. It has been in force since November 1, 1851.

* The writer has been authorized to say that papers and documents of a private nature, but giving a detailed statement of the growth of Article VIII, have been placed in the hands of W. H. English, of Indianapolis, with directions to publish at his discretion. For a brief statement of Mr. Morrison's service, see the *Indiana School Journal* for 1872, p. 111.

ARTICLE VIII, CONSTITUTION OF 1851.

SEC. 1. Knowledge and learning generally diffused throughout a community being essential to the preservation of a free Government, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to encourage by all suitable means moral, intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement, and to provide by law for a general and uniform system of common schools, wherein tuition shall be without charge, and equally open to all.

SEC. 2. The Common School Fund shall consist of the Congressional Township Fund, and the lands belonging thereto ;

The Surplus Revenue Fund ;

The Saline Fund, and the lands belonging thereto ;

The Bank Tax Fund, and the fund arising from the one hundred and fourteenth section of the charter of the State Bank of Indiana ;

The fund to be derived from the sale of county seminaries, and the moneys and property heretofore held for such seminaries ; from the fines assessed for breaches of the penal laws of the State, and from all forfeitures which may accrue ;

All lands and other estate which shall escheat to the State for want of heirs or kindred entitled to the inheritance ;

All lands that have or may hereafter be granted to the State when no special purpose is expressed in the grant, and the proceeds of the sales thereof, including the proceeds of the sales of the swamp lands granted to the State of Indiana by the act of Congress of the twenty-eighth of September, one thousand eight hundred and fifty, after deducting the expense of selecting and draining the same ;

Taxes on the property of corporations that may be assessed by the General Assembly for common school purposes.

SEC. 3. The principal of the Common School Fund shall remain a perpetual fund, which may be increased, but shall never be diminished ; and the income thereof shall be in-

violably appropriated to the support of common schools, and to no other purpose whatever.

SEC. 4. The General Assembly shall invest, in some safe and profitable manner, all such portions of the Common School Fund as have not heretofore been intrusted to the several counties, and shall make provision by law for the distribution among the several counties of the interest thereof.

SEC. 5. If any county shall fail to demand its proportion of such interest for common school purposes, the same shall be reinvested for the benefit of such county.

SEC. 6. The several counties shall be held liable for the preservation of so much of said fund as may be intrusted to them, and for the payment of the annual interest thereon.

SEC. 7. All trust funds held by the State shall remain inviolate, and be faithfully and exclusively applied to the purposes for which the trust was created.

SEC. 8. The General Assembly shall provide for the election, by the voters of the State, of a State superintendent of public instruction, who shall hold his office for two years, and whose duties and compensation shall be prescribed by law.

Following the formal labors of the convention, an address was prepared to the people of the State, in which the paragraph upon "Education and State Institutions" set forth the principal changes of the article on education, explained the convention's action in abolishing the county seminaries, consolidating the school funds, making the counties responsible for their security, and providing a State educational office; which was helpful in inviting confidence and softening prejudices and opposition.

The new Constitution—and along with the other articles, that on education—was accepted at the polls by more than 80,000 majority in a total vote of about 160,000.

PROF. MILLS'S SIXTH MESSAGE.

In his message to the Legislature, in December, 1851, Governor Wright spoke at length of the educational situation in Indiana, and the magnitude of the responsibilities resting upon his hearers and their successors, who must carry out the provisions of the new Constitution. It was an important State paper. In its acceptance of this document no change came to the State in any relation greater than that incident to Article VIII, and providing the means of general culture.

As had been his custom for years, Prof. Mills also, upon the reassembling of the Legislature, submitted his "Sixth annual address on Popular Education." It bears date December 10, 1851, and two months later was officially recognized by the Senate, 5,000 copies being ordered printed. "One of the people" had been heard. The address makes a pamphlet of about thirty pages, including an appendix, and is well worth preservation, not only as a specimen of the author's work, but as a suggestive pedagogical treatise upon State school systems forty years ago.

After pointing out the evident requirements of the Constitution, and noting that the proposed system must furnish free tuition to every child of whatever social class or condition; that to make the system general and free would call for an annual revenue of not less than half a million dollars; and emphasizing wise and close supervision as of vital necessity in administering a system of schools, Prof. Mills makes and elaborates a half-dozen recommendations, most of which his contemporary legislators were slow to accept, but which have since been, in substance, incorporated into the State school law.

The township organization was suggested and "township school committees to manage the educational interests of the township, as municipal trustees do the civil and pecuniary affairs of the corporation." He recommended county or district superintendents, who should examine and license

teachers, visit schools, receive and summarize the reports of township trustees and forward them to the State Superintendent, select and recommend school books, and conduct teachers' institutes; and who should collectively constitute a State Board of Education. He found teachers' institutes a part of the system in eight States, and bespoke for them an intelligent consideration and introduction into Indiana.

Graded schools are characterized somewhat in detail, and their advantages re-enforced by much historical and other evidence. He strongly urged the employment of women as teachers for the primary classes—a thing almost unknown at that day in Indiana. Circulating libraries are described, their regulative influences pointed out, and a fairly well digested scheme submitted for raising the funds and managing the enterprise.

But his dearest interest and most ardent plea is for normal schools—"institutions for the sole and exclusive purpose of furnishing instruction appropriate to the teacher's vocation." To this end he would have "three or four such normal departments in the colleges of Indiana," bringing these institutions "into more intimate relations with common schools," and awakening in the minds of many of their students and professors a livelier sympathy with these elementary departments of the American system.

Altogether, the educational prospect for the State had been greatly improved through the labors of the convention and the two campaigns and the following elections. Certainly, the problem had never been so clearly set before the State's law-makers. There was not only reason to expect from the Legislature considerable modification of the existing policy, but such change as would inaugurate an efficient system. The Constitution contemplated no compromise. Its provisions were specific and mandatory.

Article VIII is a liberal but wise charter of a great educational institution—the Hoosier school.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SCHOOL LAW OF 1852.

THE Legislature of 1852 found itself, upon meeting, confronted by a complicated problem. In many important respects the new Constitution was greatly unlike the old, involving a considerable reorganization of the State's administrative and judicial affairs, the assumption of new privileges, social and political, and large obligations.

Not the least among the embarrassments came from the requirements of the new Constitution concerning education. Most other interests could point to some sort of beginning already made. The educational structure must be begun with the foundation. The school legislation of thirty-five years had accomplished little else than confusion and ruin. Funds were badly used, or not at all, and the system was a mass of unrelated machinery. "There was no general provision for tuition beyond the income of the school funds, which, at the best, was a mere pittance. This modicum was the only annual monetary exponent of the educational interest of the State as a Commonwealth, the sole pecuniary provision she had made for so noble a purpose, so philanthropic and patriotic an enterprise. All else depended upon individual generosity and personal zeal. There was no equitable and efficient method of erecting school-houses. Advancement in that direction depended upon private enterprise, taste, and liberality. Township libraries had no existence. There was no wise and adequate supervision of the educational interests of either township, county, or Commonwealth."

"An impression was general," said Mr. Bryant, in the convention, "that we have done [1850] a great deal for education in the State of Indiana. This arises in part from the fact that it always makes a prominent item in the stump speeches that are annually made. Many prophesy in its name, and teach upon the streets and cross-roads, and are

great and devoted friends of common schools just before an election ; but, with all our profession, what have we done ?

"I can sum it all up in a few words : We have received from the United States the Congressional Township Fund, the University Fund, the Surplus Revenue Fund, and the Saline Fund, and, by a tax upon the State Bank for school purposes, we have collected from two to three thousand dollars per year, to be distributed among ninety-one counties, the highest sum to any one county being \$81.37; the lowest, \$3.70. Not a dollar, sir, from the State Treasury for any educational purpose."

Even the expense of handling these funds had been taken from them, not from the Treasury. To bring order out of this disorder, on the ruins of a generation to erect an artistic structure yielding the appliances of training and culture, was the task. It was no easy one. Very fairly the duty was performed. Of 120 chapters in the Revised Statutes of 1852, a full dozen were more or less closely related to education. The sale of county seminary buildings; the education of the deaf-mutes and blind; high schools and colleges; the State, county, and public libraries; saline and swamp lands and their dedication to schools; and voluntary associations, including library and scientific institutions—all claimed and received respectful and considerate attention at the hands of that thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The interest was pronounced and aggressive.

Naturally, however, chapter xcvi, on common schools, comprises most of the educational work of the session. The chapter is entitled, "An act to provide for a general and uniform system of common schools and school libraries, and matters properly connected therewith," and embraced 147 sections.

It reaffirmed the provisions of the Constitution concerning the school funds; provided for their safe investment through making the counties responsible; required a State tax for school purposes, and directed its distribution along

with other school revenues; empowered townships to levy a special local tax for building purposes; and stipulated that schools should be free and under the immediate control of three trustees in each township. These trustees employed teachers, erected houses, controlled the school lands, and directed the collection of, and reported, all statistics. A library tax was ordered, graded schools legalized, and cities and towns empowered to form themselves into independent school corporations. Besides all this, a State Board of Education was created and a superintendent of public instruction provided for, by whom, or his subordinates, all teachers were to be examined and State funds apportioned.

Judged by the topics enumerated, the superiority of the law is not strikingly apparent: most of these provisions had at some time been introduced into previous acts—notably the law of 1849. The real changes were not numerous. What was new was rather the evident spirit of earnestness that gave new significance to laws. A half-dozen sections embrace all that was radical in the new school policy. These were really revolutionary. To their special and more extended study the following sections are devoted:

1. Civil Townships as School Townships.

Under the first Constitution there was no uniform mode of doing township business of any character in the several counties. The trustees were so many special agents of the State. The Revised Statutes of 1843 specified only their general duties, their mode of election, and penalties for malfeasance in office. As late as 1850 the session laws include acts of special legislation in favor of Steuben, Adams, Huntington, Whitley, Warren, Clay, and Jennings Counties, and for various townships in other counties. With a similar administration, there was yet no common policy. Local conditions were supreme.

Besides, throughout the same period there were maintained the two political divisions—the congressional and the civil townships—sustaining co-ordinate relations to the

State, and not always well defined. Most public business was managed by the latter; the schools (education) were left to the former. All administration was involved and expensive; most of all, school administration. The new statutes under the Constitution sought, while simplifying the administrative organization, to make it at once both more rational and less expensive.

To this end, the management of township affairs was made uniform throughout the State, the congressional township, as a political division, being abolished. School matters were delegated to the civil township, and the duties of township officers specified in detail. The change was a somewhat radical one. The township became the political unit for the State. Touching most local matters—the inspection of elections, the care of roads and bridges, the oversight of the poor, and the general management of the public property—the township trustees became the representatives of the people in State affairs and State relations.

As marking the educational relations of the township, the law provided * that “each civil township in the several counties of this State is hereby declared a township for school purposes, and the trustees of such township are hereby declared to be trustees also for school purposes, and their clerk and treasurer shall be clerk and treasurer for school purposes also.† These trustees, constituting a local board, were “to have charge of the educational affairs of the township, employ teachers, and visit schools”; “to establish and conveniently locate a sufficient number of schools for the education of the children therein”; to have “charge of all the school-houses,” including building, repairs, fuel, and furniture; “to make an enumeration of the children within their respective townships between the ages of seven and seventeen years, distinguishing be-

* See Revised Statutes, 1852, chap. xcvi, p. 440.

† In each township were three trustees, one clerk, and a treasurer, elected annually and for the one year.

tween seven and twelve and twelve and seventeen years"; to make transfer of persons when they "can be better accommodated at the school of an adjoining township"; to "establish graded schools or a modification thereof, when such establishment is practical and convenient"; to have charge of all school funds and the township libraries; and to furnish to the county auditor and to the State Superintendent annually a report of their proceedings and the condition of the schools. It was altogether a sweeping change, and meant to be reformative.

The township organization was a Western protest against the wasteful district system that had, up to the present generation, prevailed so generally in the East, and was copied indeed in certain of the newer States. This latter policy might develop a multitude of schools, but they would be each independent of every other, existing under more or less different conditions, unequally supported by wealth and material resources, wastefully or parsimoniously furnished with houses and appliances, often with short terms and generally with poor teachers. It cultivates either weakness or indifference through the very lack of co-operation, and leads to wasteful division of authority, and a duplicate, and so expensive administration.

On the other hand, the township control, in its essential nature, represents permanence and stability in the system. Districts are united under a common organization. Their co-operation gives strength. Each is re-enforced by the support of every other; and all are elevated and tempered by the attainments of each. Each township is, in a way, a little republic. Local deficiency lowers the general tone; but common good makes individual opportunity. The township as a body has an interest in every school. Township control of schools looks to the re-enforcement of each by the contributions of all.

It is historically true that the reform is not now, was not then, peculiar to our own State or the West. Certain towns in New England had already made the experiment;

but "Indiana has the unquestioned honor of being the first State in the Union to incorporate it into her educational code."* Many States have since followed her example.

A recent report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Michigan† thus summarizes the objections to the district system, every one of which may be verified from the history of education in Indiana: 1. Unequal facilities for schooling afforded children in the same township. 2. Inequality in the cost of maintaining schools in different parts of the same township. 3. Nepotism in the selection of teachers. 4. Too frequent changes of teachers. 5. Too great diversity of text-books. 6. Too many school officers. 7. Unjust discrimination in local taxation. 8. Children have frequently too long distances to attend school in their own districts when they could be more conveniently accommodated in an adjoining district. 9. Difficulty in properly classifying and grading schools. 10. Frequent disputes and bickerings over school house sites, boundaries, etc. 11. Inefficiency of local school officers. 12. Inequality in length of school terms. 13. School laws not properly understood and enforced.

According to the same authority, the advantages of the township system would be fairly shown by a statement of the reverse of these conditions, or the diminution of their ill effects—i. e., more uniform school privileges, a sharing of the cost of schooling, less favoritism in choosing teachers, longer service in the school-room, a more general uniformity in books and school courses, fewer officers, equality of taxation throughout the township, convenience of school-houses, a central control that would obviate local factions, and lengthened school terms.

In half the States—generally west, sometimes east, occasionally south—the township system now prevails. In Indiana it is the crowning excellence of administration of a

* See Fifth Annual Report, p. 11.

† Report of 1887, p. 16.

rural system conceded to be, in theory at least, among the best in this country. It secures to the weak district equal advantages with the strong; the populous one is not favored beyond the sparsely settled. Almost immediately in the revision of the law this security was given statutory form by requiring that the "schools in each township shall be taught an equal length of time, without regard to the diversity in the number of pupils in the several schools." Indiana has reason to be proud of her attitude toward school organization and the constitution of her school system in 1852.

One serious mistake then made, and one which has been perpetuated to the present day, was the irrational delegation of unrelated municipal duties to one officer. Why the civil official who has charge of roads and bridges, the care of local dependents, and the local oversight of elections, should also be held responsible for the management of schools and the selection of teachers is not clear. It was pronounced in the beginning "a sad blemish, a serious defect, a radical oversight, which can not too speedily be erased from the statute," but it lingers after forty years—almost the sole remnant of the early and merely business view of schooling. The State Superintendent, who was first the State's treasurer; the State Board of Education, formerly constituted of the State officers, who served by virtue of their office; the old common-school examiner, who was generally a professional or business man, rarely a teacher; and the head of the city schools, at first a member of the local school board, delegated to have a closer oversight of the work—have all, speaking generally but truly for Indiana, given place to men and members to whom schooling is more or less a study, not infrequently a profession. Why should it be less so with the trusteeship, a position charged with more, and more responsible, educational duties than any other in the whole system?

The selection of teachers, the erection and furnishing of school-houses, the management of schools, and the disbursing of public-school moneys, are not matters either so unimpor-

tant or of so indifferent repute as to receive a partial and divided interest only. An urgent local need of Indiana rural schools is a township school officer who is also a school man.

2. The Distribution of School Revenues.

In terms of the statute of 1852 the State Superintendent was required annually "to make out a statement showing the number of scholars in each county of the State, the amount of funds in the hands of the county treasurers for distribution, and the proportional amount to which each county was entitled," to inform the county auditors thereof, upon whose requisition the county treasurers should effect the required distribution to the treasurers of incorporated cities, towns, and townships of their several counties. The moneys so distributed were made to include the proceeds of all invested funds in the hands of the counties, including the amounts realized from the sale of the sixteenth sections.

By a decision of the Supreme Court,* however, elsewhere given, this latter fund had been again set off to the uses of the township, and under a revision of the law in 1855 a new mode of distribution was introduced. Sections 97 and 100 of the new law provided that "the State Superintendent shall annually, by the fourth Monday in April in each year, make out a statement showing the number of scholars in each county in the State, the amount of income of the Common School Fund in each county for distribution, and the amount of taxes collected for school purposes, and shall apportion the same to the several counties of the State according to the enumeration of scholars therein, without taking into consideration the Congressional Township Fund in such distribution."

"The treasurers of the several counties shall annually, on the third Monday of May, make distribution of the income to which their counties are entitled (upon the warrant of the county auditor) to the several townships and incor-

* June 11, 1856. See page 214.

porated cities and towns of each county, which payment shall be to the treasurer of each township; and in making the said distribution the auditor shall ascertain the amount of the Congressional Township Fund belonging to each city, town, and township, and shall so apportion the income of the Common School Fund as to equalize the amount of available funds in each city, town, and township, as near as may be, according to the number of scholars therein; provided, however, that in no case shall the income of the Congressional Township Fund belonging to any congressional township, or part of such township, be diminished by such distribution and diverted to any other township."

This meant in the last analysis that townships having large school section funds should receive a proportionally small share of the common-school revenue and taxes; and equally, but on the contrary, those townships having, perhaps, large population but meager funds should have their school revenues equalized by a relatively large apportionment of State revenues. Such unequal distribution of the revenues of the State arising from the saline, federal-deposit, bank-tax, and sinking funds, and especially the State tax for tuition purposes, was opposed by classes in every section of the State and denounced as unconstitutional. Notably Whitewater and Springfield Townships, in Franklin County, enjoined their auditor and treasurer from distributing the school fund of their county, in accordance with the provisions quoted above, and demanded the full amount due them "on a fair and equal per capita division and distribution of the whole of said tax fund, and part of the Common School Fund aforesaid, without in any wise regarding said Congressional Township Fund, or making said proposed illegal effort to equalize such Congressional Township Fund throughout the county."

The case was won in the lower court, but upon appeal of the county to the Supreme Court judgment was reversed, Judge Perkins holding* that, as "by the Constitution the

* Judge Stuart dissenting. See 7 Indiana, 570.

proceeds of the entire Common School Fund (of which the Congressional Township Fund is to be considered in the distribution a part) are so to be distributed as to produce equality and uniformity in the school system throughout the State, the proceeds of said fund, other than the interest on the Congressional Township Fund, must, therefore, under the Constitution, be unequally distributed, in order to produce the equality required by the Constitution in the final result." It was held, therefore, that the school law of 1855 requiring an equalization of revenues by making an unequal distribution of the common-school moneys, "conforms to the spirit of the Constitution," and "does not conflict with any act of Congress."*

This mode of apportionment to equalize the revenues to the townships prevails yet.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SCHOOL LAW OF 1852 (Continued).

3. Local Taxes and Building Funds.

PRIOR to 1849 there was no general provision for taxes in the interests of schools. This law directed the levy of ten cents on each one hundred dollars of property taxable for State purposes, "to be appropriated exclusively for the support of common schools." Before this, the nearest approach to any State support other than invested funds was through a permissive law legalizing a local district tax "not to exceed twenty-five cents on each one hundred dollars," directed by the voters and assessed by the auditor of the county. The law lacked every element of uniformity, except that the privilege was rarely claimed. Even the law of

* The opinion in the case from Springfield Township was rendered by Judge Gookins, Judge Stuart dissenting. See 7 Indiana, 686.

1849, which marked a considerable advance, was yet left to the votes—the annual votes—of the people of the counties to accept or reject it. And more than one third of the State chose the local-option freedom and absence of taxes under the former laws.

Money for education might be cheerfully given—much was given—and the contributions made in labor; but school taxes had other associations. To the objector they meant something of coercion, and hence were resisted. It was not education that was objected to, nor schools, nor free schools even, nor superior schools, but coerced taxation for the maintenance of a cause that rightfully belonged to the individual, certainly to the locality. School taxes were not popular in Indiana only a generation ago.

Nevertheless, the first statutes under the new Constitution reaffirmed the tax provisions of 1849, "that there shall be annually assessed and collected, as the State and county revenues are assessed and collected, first, on the list of property taxable for State purposes the sum of ten cents on each one hundred dollars, which, together with the income of the Congressional Township and Common School Funds, should be applied to the support of common schools. It was further provided that the voters of any township should "have power at any general or special meeting to vote a tax for the purpose of building or repairing school-houses and purchasing sites therefor, providing fuel, furniture, maps, apparatus, libraries or the increase thereof, or to discharge debts incurred therefor, and for continuing their schools after public funds have been expended, to an amount not exceeding annually fifty cents on each one hundred dollars of property and fifty cents on each poll."

Under the new statute there were four sorts of tax differently assessed and differently applied: (1) a State property tax, (2) a township property tax, (3) a State poll tax, (4) a township poll tax. All were to be used for the support of common schools. This support might be in the form of tuition or for buildings and appliances—not indiscriminately,

but under statutory direction. Based upon these seemingly liberal provisions of the law were the hopes of the friends of the common schools. Here at last seemed an opportunity to build up an efficient school system. With such resources, good houses and enough of them were possible, and large limits granted to school terms and tuition.

Though approved in June, 1852, the new law became operative a year later—few schools being organized under its provisions before the spring and summer of 1853. Before the school year had passed, however, hundreds of houses had been built or begun, local taxes had been levied to extend the school term in districts as well as in cities, and the outlook was as promising as a people could wish. The law, elective in composition and liberal in its provisions, embraced new and, it was hoped, regenerative features. A central supervision, State and local taxation, and a consolidation of interests and resources, were elements that challenged the admiration of law-makers and established the confidence of citizens. There seemed new hope for the Hoosier. Rooms were being provided and schools opened very generally through the State, when, on the threshold, again, the right of the officers under the law and the constitutionality of the law itself were called in question. The power of the township trustees to assess a tax upon the inhabitants of the township for the continuance of the schools after the public funds were expended was another source of dissatisfaction. The exercise of such power, it was held, interfered with the uniformity required by the Constitution.

There was no unity of opinion as to the respective duties of the localities and the State touching either the payment of teachers or the erection of houses. Opposition to the law appeared on every side. Among the cases brought to trial was one in the Putnam Circuit Court, by Alexander Black, enjoining the collection of a tax under section 130, as quoted. At the April election, 1853, in Greencastle Township, a vote was taken upon the proposition to assess a tax of fifteen cents on each one hundred dollars' worth of property, and

twenty-five cents on each poll for common-school purposes. The assessment was made. Black, as noted above, instituted suit, which was carried up to the Supreme Court as "Greencastle Township, in Putnam County, and Kercheval, County Treasurer, *vs.* Black."

It was held by Judge Hovey* that the section (130) was in contravention of section 22, Article IV, of the Constitution, prohibiting local or special laws touching "common schools and the preservation of school funds"; that under its provisions "the uniformity of the common-school system would be at once destroyed"; and that "the power of controlling schools would necessarily, to a great extent, pass from the State and the Superintendent into the hands of the local authorities of the respective townships." Upon a petition for rehearing, it was subsequently held by Judge Stuart (Judge Hovey having left the bench) that the Constitution regarded common schools "as a State institution, under the Superintendent of Public Instruction . . . and to be supported, as to tuition, by State funds." A State school, or a public school supported by State funds, could not admit the application of local tax. It was required that the system contemplated should be both general and uniform. If some localities made their schools better than their neighbors, the aim of the law was frustrated. Touching this point it was formally held that "when the State has raised a common-school fund by uniform assessment and taxation, she has attained the contemplated uniformity in that respect. When she has distributed the fund equally to all entitled to it, she has attained uniformity in that respect." To the present generation this seems to be a very superficial notion of "uniformity." Nevertheless, the judge held that, "when a tax is levied in one township for common-school purposes which is not a State tax, and may not be so levied on the taxable property of the State, the law itself creates the want of uniformity. Such diversity where uniformity is attainable is

* December 12, 1854.

in violation of the Constitution. The meaning of the instrument is plain. The burdens to support the system must be apportioned, and the funds distributed generally and uniformly to all."

It is plain that, while the entire section is declared unconstitutional, the only real question before the Court was the one of local tax for tuition purposes. "As to the mode of levying the tax and paying tuition, the act was repugnant to the Constitution." So difficult was the problem, and seemingly unsolvable, set to legislators and jurists—the equitable adjustment of State and local interests to secure the largest good of both. For the time it was held that tuition revenues could only originate in the Legislature, and must be uniform for the State.

As a result, the school term was shortened to two and a half months. Many schools were altogether closed. Three thousand teachers received for their services an average of \$21.42 per month, or \$54.41 for the year's salary. Real teachers were driven into other occupations, or opened private schools. The education of the rural districts was at a discount. "A three-months' school," said Superintendent Mills in 1855, "followed by a nine-months' recess, is so near an approximation to nothing in its practical results that it seems better fitted to illustrate perpetual motion in the pursuit of knowledge than prove itself a wise and efficient means of obtaining it."

It was even circulated as a rumor by the enemies of free schools that the entire law had been declared unconstitutional and void; and trustees, believing this, in some instances dismissed the schools, and considered themselves out of office.

Following the decision of the case last mentioned came the revision of the law in 1855. The unconstitutionality of a tax to extend the schools beyond the time afforded by the public funds having been affirmed, the new law, while reenacting a building tax, makes no mention of local-tuition taxes. Within three years the localities had erected 1,892 school-houses, at a cost of \$1,088,261.

Even this right of the locality to provide, by tax, extra funds for building (including furnishing, apparatus, and running expenses, except tuition), was also questioned in certain counties. In Fort Wayne, in June, 1853, such proposed tax was voted down by 196 against 127, and a test case was brought in the Warren Circuit Court, and taken, by appeal, to the Supreme Court, as "*Adamson vs. The Auditor and Treasurer of Warren County.*"

The suit was brought to recover the tax paid by plaintiff, as assessed by the trustees of Mound Township, Warren County (1853), for the building of school-houses. Moreover, the tax was assessed by the trustees after a vote of the township in its favor. It was held upon trial before Judge Perkins that, though the provision in the law authorizing township trustees to assess taxes for paying teachers is unconstitutional, because the power of voting taxes for that purpose is vested by the Constitution "in the Legislature alone," the means for building school-houses, etc., are left "within the power of township trustees, and no more uniformity can be required of them than there can be as to those for building court-houses and jails in the different counties." The vote of the citizens was held to be unconstitutional, and hence void. It was needless; but "the tax was legally levied by the trustees." The system, in 1855, required that tuition in all public schools must be furnished by the State; the houses and appliances by the locality.

4. *City and Town School Corporations.*

It has already been repeatedly pointed out, and needs here no extended treatment, that for almost forty years after the assumption of statehood by Indiana no attempt was made to even legalize free public schools in cities and towns. All schools were township institutions, having township patronage, and depending upon township support. The educational needs of cities were supposed to be fully met by the county or specially incorporated private or denominational seminaries and academies. But, whatever their con-

stitution, none of them were free. Nevertheless, it should be said that for a certain grade of learning and for limited classes of the population, some of these towns have never been supplied with better instruction, more effective discipline, or more wholesome example for life and motive than under the influence of their local seminaries.

There were among them real schools, forward in the best educational thought of the day, free as were the schools anywhere in all this country, manned by scholarship, and followed by devotion. Any town was fortunate to have had for a teacher a Morrison, a Ferris, a Hoshour, a Haughton, a Post, a Rufus Patch, an Ebenezer Tucker, or a Zebulon Sturgus. Their schools were colleges. But they were not public schools, most of them, even in the same sense that the township schools were such. They might be admirable as substitutes, but they were no part of the system as a civil organization.

Touching educational matters, the cities had been systematically ignored in all legislation for thirty-six years. Any such community, financially or otherwise unable to found for itself and maintain a high-grade, well-taught seminary, whose patronage would be sought by the scholarly and capable, must be content with or suffer under the deficiencies and discrepancies of the pioneer, private, elementary subscription school of mixed grades and changing teachers. From adventurers, indeed, the town more often suffered than the country. Altogether, whether as compared with the district on the one hand, or the city on the other, the town fared badly.

In the convention, however, both town and city had their friends; and, while their educational rights are not mentioned in the Constitution, the question was repeatedly considered in their debates, and the effect was felt in the drafting of the new law. They were made special objects of legislation.

Section 32 * reads as follows:

* Revised Statutes, 1852, p. 444.

"Incorporated cities and towns shall constitute school corporations, independent of the townships in which they may be situated, and shall be entitled to the proportional amount of school funds to which the number of children between the ages prescribed by law will entitle them; and shall, by trustees elected by the people or by officers appointed by the corporation, perform all the duties required of township trustees, prepare and file with the county auditor all the reports required of and be subject to all the liabilities of such trustees; shall have power by vote of the qualified voters of such corporation, or by an ordinance, to levy taxes for the support of their schools, after the public funds shall have been exhausted, for the building, repairing, and hiring of school-houses; for the furnishing thereof; for the purchase or leasing ground therefor; for the establishment or increase of school libraries, and for all other incidental expenses. They shall have power to establish graded schools, and generally to do and perform all other acts which, by this act, are authorized to be done and performed by township trustees; . . ." This section was not touched by the previous Supreme Court decision.

Almost immediately schools were opened under the provisions of the law. Taxes were levied, houses built, and some attempts made at organization and grading. Both in the system and the administration, cities now had greatly the advantage of townships and districts. To further extend the system and increase its efficiency, the conditions were somewhat modified, and the privileges, also, in the revision of 1855. Emboldened by being let alone, they asserted new and larger rights and secured their confirmation.

The legislation was in the form of a separate statute, not an amendment, and was entitled "An Act to authorize the establishment of free public schools in the incorporated cities and towns of the State of Indiana." Because of its provisions and the importance it subsequently assumed, the act is inserted in full.

SEC. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the

State of Indiana that the several incorporated cities and towns of this State be and they are hereby authorized and empowered to establish and support public schools within their respective corporate limits, and, by an ordinance of such corporation, to levy and collect such taxes as may be necessary from time to time for the support thereof.

SEC. 2. It shall be lawful for any such city or town to recognize any school, seminary, or other institution of learning which has been or may be erected by private enterprise, as a part of their system, and to make such appropriation of funds to such school, seminary, or institution of learning, and upon such terms and conditions as may be deemed proper.

SEC. 3. Nothing contained in this act shall be construed to authorize any city or town, by any system adopted under this act, to supersede the common schools established under the authority of this State, and supported by the public funds.

SEC. 4. When any tax is required to be levied, as provided in this act, the county auditor, upon being required so to do by the proper authorities of any city or town, shall enter the said tax upon his duplicate, and the treasurer shall proceed to collect the same upon the list of property subject to taxation for State and county purposes, and shall pay over the same when collected to the treasurer of such city or town or other officer properly authorized to receive the same.

SEC. 5. Inasmuch as existing laws are not sufficient to confer the power herein given, and it is desirable that such powers should exist immediately, it is declared that an emergency exists for the immediate taking effect of this act. Wherefore it shall take effect from its passage.

This gave cities greatly extended powers, much to the disadvantage of the township system and in the face of half a dozen adverse decisions of the Supreme Court upon essentially the same provisions. What had been denied to the township was not only conceded but confirmed to the city—the right to local-tuition taxes.

Notwithstanding judicial "opinions," however, the law became operative, and schools were established under this as they had been for a year under the former legislation. The transformation of private seminaries into public graded schools; the rise of new systems providing free education where before had been none, or worse; the new public interest, this ready and eager acceptance of almost un hoped-for, certainly unexpected, opportunity of culture—vitalize a most interesting period in Indiana's educational history.

Within three years of the passage of the new school law, in most instances even before its revision, school systems had made a beginning in Indianapolis, Evansville, Terre Haute, Fort Wayne, New Albany, Valparaiso, Vevay (all in 1853); in Richmond, Logansport, and Michigan City in 1854; in Plymouth, Muncie, and elsewhere the year following. Many and commodious houses were erected during the same years in these cities, and Lafayette, Madison, Shelbyville, Rising Sun, Delphi, Mishawaka, Edinburg, and Elkhart; and a year later in Connersville, Franklin, La Port, Decatur, Auburn, etc. The State generally was joyous in its new-found life. The actual achievements in buildings and schools in a dozen such centers were doing more to educate the public up to an unreserved acceptance of the "free-school idea" than a generation of legislation. Of one hundred corporate towns and cities reported to the department in 1856, about one half had already instituted systems and nearly as many owned their own buildings. But the objection to local taxes in townships, so generously sustained by the Supreme Court in 1854, could not long go unquestioned in cities also.

Following the action of the Legislature in 1855, the city of Lafayette took steps to organize a public system; taxes had been placed and the collection ordered. William M. Jenners instituted suit in the Tippecanoe Circuit Court asking that the city be enjoined from collecting the tax so assessed against him. The injunction was granted and an appeal taken by the city of Lafayette to the Supreme Court. The

case was tried before Judge Perkins, who confirmed the judgment of the lower court, and declared the injunction perpetual.

The only point at issue upon appeal was the constitutionality of section 1 of the act of 1855. The decree held that, "if the Legislature can not under the Constitution confer upon cities and towns (and townships) the power to levy taxes to continue the free public schools of the State, how can it confer upon them power to levy taxes to establish and support free public schools? And what was the objection assigned against the first? It was not that it was conferring upon cities and towns powers that they were not adapted to exercise, but that it was attempting to confer upon them power touching a subject as to which the Constitution required all the power to be exercised by the Legislature alone—viz., the subject of furnishing tuition in public schools to children of the State."

Cities along with townships might provide funds by taxation for building purposes, and to this end might not receive aid from the State. But in the interest of a uniform State system for tuition they must be content with what the State chose to distribute from invested funds and general taxes. In this restriction put upon tuition revenues, city and township now suffered alike, though not equally, but everywhere seriously.

Here, then, were three judgments, in as many years and all within five years of the inauguration of the system touching two of the wisest provisions of the new law, and emanating from the Supreme Court, two of which seem to present thought to have been hindering, and only hindering, to the cause of public schooling. The opinion of Judge Perkins now first applied the opinions of Judges Hovey and Stuart to local tax in cities. The result was that most city schools were closed as public schools, the houses rented to private parties, and superintendents and teachers dismissed, not a few of the best of both classes leaving the State.

5. *Miscellaneous Provisions.*

Among the further provisions made by this first law and here to be mentioned, though only to make the view less partial, was that concerning school libraries. Sections 138 to 146, inclusive, required that there should be assessed and collected for two years a property tax of one fourth of a mill and a poll tax of twenty-five cents, "to be applied exclusively to the purchase of township school libraries, under the direction of the State Board of Education." Like provisions had already been made in New York (1839), in Michigan (1837), Massachusetts (1837), Connecticut (1839), and Rhode Island and Iowa Territory (1840)—States with whose educational history the framers of our law were most of them familiar.

There was created also, as required by the Constitution, the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, who should be elected as other State officers, and hold his office for two years. His salary was fixed at \$1,300 per annum, with an allowance, not to exceed five hundred dollars, "for traveling, postage, stationary, and other expenses." He was made *ex-officio* president of the State Board of Education, and required to superintend the purchase and distribution of the township libraries. Besides, the duty of examining and licensing all teachers throughout the State devolved upon him directly or through deputies, of whom he might appoint one in each county.

The Board of Education, though not mentioned in the Constitution, was established "for the purpose of more effectually promoting the interests of education," and made to consist of the Governor, Treasurer, Secretary, and Auditor of State, and the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Its chief function for many years seems to have been the examination, adoption, and "introduction of uniform school books."

Altogether the act of 1852 was a considerable advance upon the best previous legislation. It made a school system

possible; and, but for the unfavorable judicial decisions, would have secured a reasonable length of term, a fair uniformity, and general co-operation. For the first time in Indiana the system reflected the sentiment that it is the duty of the State to educate the children of the State. It meant the re-enforcement of the weaker sections through aid from the stronger and wealthier. It meant one system for all the townships and cities, not a thousand. Wisely administered, the policy contemplated in the law guaranteed more schooling through the longer terms made possible, better education through the choice of better teachers and wise supervision, and, withal, a more economical management.

Its failure came not from itself, but from unfortunate interpretations and a strong minority opposition in the general public. Nevertheless, in the fifteen years from 1852 the growth of public sentiment touching free universal education was wholesome and rapid. Its former friends were confirmed and new ones won, and all rallied as never before. Legislation itself became educative and a wiser policy matured.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE COMMON SCHOOL FUND.

A CLOSE organization and a more or less centralized administration of school affairs are distinguishing marks of the modern control in public education, as compared with the management two generations ago. And among all the phases of centralization there is none more in harmony with the general movement, or better representative of the policy, and none more marked or salutary in its influence, than the creation, fostering, and conservation of permanent funds.

With few and unimportant exceptions, the endowment of public institutions for elementary training by setting

aside a body of invested funds, or guaranteeing an undiminishable annual revenue other than that by taxation, is, in the United States, a policy whose beginning lies within the memory of men yet living. With its roots deep in the soil of the "Old Northwest," and warmed by the fires of the Revolutionary spirit, its visible growth and large fruitage belong yet to the heart of the present century. It adds dignity and permanence to all elementary education.

Of the forty-four States in the Union, forty-one have such funds, amounting in the aggregate to more than \$130,000,000. For purposes of reference and comparison, a table is inserted giving the permanent funds of the several States from the most recent authorities at hand. To this item is added, as fixing its significance, estimates or official statistics concerning the property valuation, the total population, and the school census in the same States:

	Permanent funds.	Taxables.	Population, 1890.	School census.
Alabama.....	\$2,700,000	\$197,000,000	1,513,017	522,891
Arkansas.....	460,000	175,000,000	1,128,179	405,587
California.....	3,000,000	1,071,000,000	1,208,130	280,882
Colorado.....	700,000	129,000,000	412,193	95,137
Connecticut.....	2,025,000	360,000,000	746,258	159,241
Delaware.....	.....	74,000,000	168,493	39,131
Florida.....	500,000	77,000,000	391,422	113,647
Georgia.....	.....	377,000,000	1,837,353	560,281
Idaho.....	.....	26,000,000	84,385	25,741
Illinois.....	10,700,000	730,000,000	3,826,351	1,163,440
Indiana.....	9,800,000	790,000,000	2,192,404	770,723
Iowa.....	4,300,000	478,000,000	1,911,896	660,495
Kansas.....	6,100,000	291,000,000	1,427,496	509,514
Kentucky.....	1,800,000	513,000,000	1,858,685	676,370
Louisiana.....	1,200,000	235,000,000	1,118,537	370,226
Maine.....	831,000	310,000,000	661,086	211,547
Maryland.....	.....	483,000,000	1,042,390	.....
Massachusetts.....	5,200,000	2,200,000,000	2,238,943	370,116
Michigan.....	4,600,000	950,000,000	2,093,889	654,502
Minnesota.....	8,500,000	590,000,000	1,301,826	452,345
Mississippi.....	875,000	160,000,000	1,289,600	464,474
Missouri.....	10,700,000	790,000,000	2,679,184	853,754
Montana.....	.....	107,000,000	132,159	27,321
Nebraska.....	5,700,000	135,000,000	1,058,910	332,243
Nevada.....	1,100,000	25,000,000	45,761	10,022

	Permanent funds.	Taxables.	Population, 1890.	School census.
New Hampshire....	.....	253,000,000	376,530	.....
New Jersey.....	3,500,000	690,000,000	1,444,323	410,512
New York.....	8,100,000	3,800,000,000	5,997,853	1,544,596
North Carolina....	100,000	215,000,000	1,617,947	536,668
North Dakota.....	.....	80,000,000	182,719	43,153
Ohio.....	4,300,000	1,800,000,000	3,672,316	1,123,895
Oregon.....	1,000,000	170,000,000	313,767	99,543
Pennsylvania.....	.....	2,600,000,000	5,258,014	.....
Rhode Island.....	275,000	325,000,000	345,506	64,960
South Carolina.....	.....	133,000,000	1,151,149	.....
South Dakota.....	.....	132,000,000	328,808	86,177
Tennessee.....	2,500,000	350,000,000	1,767,518	655,310
Texas.....	19,500,000	700,000,000	2,235,523	665,672
Vermont.....	880,000	162,000,000	332,422	78,997
Virginia.....	1,200,000	365,000,000	1,655,980	652,045
Washington.....	.....	125,000,000	349,390	87,813
West Virginia.....	620,000	170,000,000	762,794	266,326
Wisconsin.....	2,970,000	593,000,000	1,606,880	592,756
Wyoming.....	.....	35,000,000	60,705	.....
Totals.....	\$180,000,000	\$24,000,000,000	62,000,000	18,000,000

As will appear elsewhere, the annual cost of the schools in the United States is nearly one fourth more than the total productive funds of the country. Indeed, the yearly income from all these permanent investments combined would be less than the average of the six largest State disbursements for public schools in the same period. The proceeds from permanent funds being but about five and a half per cent of the total school expenditure, it leaves nearly 95 per cent to be gathered from incidental sources and annual taxes—State and local.

These estimates apply to Indiana as well as to the States as a whole. About one tenth of our State's revenue is derived from the permanent fund, a million and a half from State taxes, and the remainder, with inconsiderable additions, from other sources, chiefly from local levies. Nevertheless, the existence and the general participation in the benefits of a common-school fund have, in every State, and particularly in Indiana, encouraged local interest, directed public sentiment, fixed standards of efficiency, and served as a guarantee of the State's faith in her subjects.

The experience of Indiana upon this question is a typical one, and her success in administering one of the largest State permanent funds for school purposes suggests that a study of its constitution and growth may reveal lessons not to the teaching class alone of Indiana, but to all who are interested in understanding the forces that have contributed to the perfection of the State public school.

The total productive funds of the forty-four States aggregate about \$130,000,000, with a tax-list of not less than \$25,000,000,000. Estimating the population of the United States at 62,000,000, the valuation per capita is about \$400; in Indiana it is about \$375. The average funds per capita are \$2 in the country at large; in Indiana, \$4.50. Estimating the school census of the United States at 18,000,000, the average productive fund per capita is something more than \$7; the corresponding average for Indiana is \$12.70. But one State—Texas—shows a higher average—\$29.10.

Three States only, it will be observed, have a larger productive school fund than Indiana. These, in order, are Texas, Illinois, and Missouri.

The State Common School Fund of Indiana is composite, and has a history of more than half a century. Its moneys have been derived from various sources and under different statutory enactments. For a part it is indebted to the General Government. Others came from the wise planning of our fathers; now through the Constitution, now through legislation.

It is the purpose here to take up these several funds, and the attempts, sometimes unsuccessful, to augment them, chiefly in chronological order and as far as the records are complete, and trace their development and legislative history.

These endowments appear as : (1) The Congressional Township Fund, (2) the Saline Fund, (3) the County Seminary Fund, (4) the Delinquent Tax Fund, (5) the Bank Tax Fund, (6) the Sinking Fund, (7) the Surplus Revenue Fund, (8) the Swamp Land Fund, (9) the Con-

tingent Funds, and (10) the Michigan Road Fund. Not all of these sources have proved actually productive; indeed, it is not known that those mentioned as 4, 8, and 10 have ever added anything to the general fund, but, inasmuch as they are a part of the State's legislative provision, and mark phases of the movement toward a permanent endowment of elementary education, they are not only interesting, but a necessary part of the history of the general fund, and so find their place in the study.

1. Congressional Township Fund.

It has already been noted how the United States Government, impressed with the supreme political and social significance of "religion, morality, and knowledge," pledged itself, in the Ordinance of 1787, to the encouragement of "schools and the means of education"; and that subsequent donations of lands to the States included the sixteenth section in each township, or one thirty-sixth of the entire domain, for the use of schools, fulfilling the Federal pledge, as it continued the policy initiated in the grants to Ohio, the first State of the Northwest.

The origin of the policy is both historically and professionally interesting and suggestive.

Early in the spring of 1783, close upon the signing of the preliminary treaties that closed the Revolutionary contest, and while a loyal but unpaid army was contemplating an empty treasury, certain officers of the New England military, including Colonel Timothy Pickering and Rufus Putnam, petitioned Congress for land, and leave to plant a colony to the west of Pennsylvania, for army veterans and their families. It was proposed that, having set aside a considerable territory to these old soldiers in payment of military services, "all the surplus lands should be the common property of the State, and be disposed for the common good, as for laying out roads, building bridges, erecting public buildings, establishing schools and academies, defraying the expenses of the Government, and other public uses." Put-

nam suggested that, with the land uniformly surveyed, reservations might be made "for schools and the ministry." Although the petition was discussed by the committee to whom it was referred, it does not appear to have received favorable consideration.

Two months later, Colonel Bland, one of the delegates from Virginia, urging the General Government's acceptance of Virginia's offer to cede her Western lands, introduced into Congress a motion looking to an appropriation of land in the Northwest to soldiers, and the reservation by Congress of one tenth of the territory, the income from which should be "appropriated to the payment of the civil list of the United States, erecting frontier forts, founding seminaries of learning, and the surplus, if any, to be appropriated to the building and equipping of a navy."

Mr. Jefferson's bill "for ascertaining the mode of locating and disposing of the lands in the Western territory," May 7, 1784, was, three weeks later, indefinitely postponed. Practically the same bill was again reported, March 4, 1785, and referred to a committee of one member from each State, who, the following month, reported a new bill, with the essential features of the former, but including, as a new clause, the provision that there shall be reserved "the central section of every township for the maintenance of public schools, and the section immediately adjoining for the support of religion, the profits arising therefrom in both instances to be applied forever according to the will of the majority of the male residents of full age within the same." This is substantially the provision of the ordinance as passed May 20, 1785, with the clause concerning the support of religion left out.

This reservation for schools marks the beginning of a regenerative policy, for the suggestion of which we are doubtless indebted to Colonel Timothy Pickering as much as to any one man. The sentiment, however, was not widely appreciated.

Under date of March 8, 1785, Colonel Pickering, in a pri-

vate letter, laments that the new bill of Mr. Jefferson makes "no provision for ministers of the gospel, nor even for schools or academies." On July 27, 1787, just two weeks after the passage of the now famous "Ordinance of 1787," the United States Government concluded a sale of land to the Ohio Company represented by Dr. Manasseh Cutler, in whose provisions was a reservation of one section for the support of religion, one for the common schools, and two townships for the support of a "literary institution."

In the enabling act of Congress, April 19, 1816, to which reference has already been made, proposition one, submitted to the Indiana Territorial Convention, required that every sixteenth section throughout the State be reserved "to the inhabitants for the use of schools,"* and one township† in the State for a university.

Article IX of the Constitution, subsequently adopted,‡ said in accordance with the above :

"It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide by law for the improvement of such lands as are, or hereafter may be, granted by the United States to this State for the use of schools, and to apply any funds which may be raised from such lands, or from any other quarter, to the accomplishment of the grand object for which they are or may be intended. But no lands granted for the use of schools or seminaries of learning shall be sold by the authority of this State prior to the year eighteen hundred and twenty ; and the moneys which may be raised out of the sale of such lands, or otherwise obtained for the purposes aforesaid, shall be and remain a fund for the exclusive purpose of promoting the interest of literature and the sciences, and for the support of seminaries and public schools."

For the next quarter of a century no small part of the legislative care appeared in the frequent, almost annual be-

* None for religion.

† One township had already been set apart in the State at the organization of Indiana Territory.

‡ June 29, 1816.

cause always tentative, enactments for the preservation of these lands, their improvement, their leasing, their final sale, and how judiciously to invest and make secure the funds arising and hoped for from this magnificently conceived endowment. Already, in 1808 and again in 1810, the courts had been empowered to lease school lands acquired under territorial organization. Land trustees had been appointed, one to each township, who might let out the land, not more than one hundred and sixty acres to one man, and for a maximum period of five years.

The first State Legislature (1816) appointed a superintendent of the school section in each township, extended the lease to seven years, and, in order to the improvement of the property, required of the lessee that, in addition to the quota of clearing, he put out an orchard of specified size and selection. In 1821, persuaded of the gravity of the situation, the facility of financial blundering among ignorant officials, and perhaps informed of waste of funds, the State Senate appointed a special committee to investigate the condition of the school lands, and to report a safe plan for deriving a revenue therefrom. Various policies were considered—cash sales, credit sales, short, long, and permanent leases, and forms of investment. The disastrous experience of Ohio with leases, as well as a shorter but equally unsatisfactory one in our own State, led to a recommendation of cash sales of land and the investment of the proceeds in State securities.

Three years later, in 1824, township trustees were substituted for the superintendent of the school section, and authorized "to dispose of lands to the best interest of the schools." These local officers were thus left large discretion and the law was subject to great abuse. Nevertheless, it was a step nearer schools.

In his message to the Legislature, December 8, 1825, Governor Ray, in a presentation of the school question, reported the common-school lands at 608,207 acres, which, at two dollars per acre, would produce a fund of \$1,216,414. In

that year the population of the State was about 250,000. It was just beginning to recover from the financial prostration of 1821, was looking forward to certain coveted internal improvements, and had a small debt, a growing tax-list, but no schools. Indeed, so various was the official control that, while no lands could be sold,* almost every other possible management or mismanagement of them might find illustration somewhere in the State and at some time—the term of lease varying from five to ninety-nine years and the conditions changing with the locality. To correct the former evil the Legislature provided the year following (1825) that all leases thereafter should be limited to ten years. The time was subsequently still further reduced.

In 1827 the General Assembly, following the lead of Ohio, petitioned Congress for leave to sell the school lands. The request being granted, the State Legislature (January 24, 1828) authorized the sale of all congressional township lands held for school purposes, the proceeds to be loaned and the interest used as tuition. Prior to this the rents of such lands had already been so applied, under the school law of 1824. But the results were very unsatisfactory. The new law was only permissive. Many of the townships retained their superintendent of the school section, and much of the land still remained under lease. The proceeds of sales and leases were loaned in the township on local security, and the superintendent or trustees nominally held responsible for its preservation. But the moneys were far from safe. Negligence was common and perversion of funds occasional.

By the school act of 1831, in place of the local management was substituted a School Commissioner, who was financial agent for the entire county and who held his office for three years. Moneys were to be loaned on real-estate mortgage only, at six per cent, and for not longer than three years. Where lands were still retained the length of the lease was reduced to eight years. A State loan office was

* Prior to 1828.

established at Indianapolis, and, upon vote of the inhabitants of a township, the commissioners might, in place of local loans, deposit the proceeds of land sales in this central office, and so have the State's guarantee of security. This seemed a wise provision. Already within ten years of the first authorized sale of lands thousands of dollars had been lost. Other moneys remained idle and interest was unpaid. Nevertheless, official records show that less than half a dozen townships availed themselves of the provision and greater security. The State Treasurer's report for 1844 shows but two entries, these townships having deposited in the aggregate \$837.27. The limit of lease was again reduced, this time (1833) to three years. Legislation was constant, but the dissipation of funds went on. Governor Bigger, in 1832, had said: "The returns from a portion of the counties show their school funds to be well managed. In others they may be safe, but the accounts are in so much confusion that no correct opinion can be formed. In some cases the whole fund has been totally and irretrievably lost."

In consequence of this condition of the school finances and to preserve the funds from further loss, the Legislature of 1843 ordered that all moneys should be deposited with the county treasurer and by him loaned; providing, further, that "the several counties shall be held liable to the inhabitants of the respective congressional townships for the preservation of these funds and the payment of the annual interest thereon, at the rate established by law."* This, in theory, was a real forward step. While, even under the first Constitution, the management of the congressional township land and fund was fairly productive, the proceeds were far less than should have accrued from 650,317 acres.

1. The administration throughout the period† was lacking in uniformity. The optional feature which left it to the voters of the township to sell or lease, to loan their money through the agency of the State, with the Commonwealth

* Seven per cent.

† From 1838 to 1852.

for security, or to local borrowers in small sums, and the frequent changes of policy through ill-considered legislation, were a most fruitful source and occasion of incompetent public service, withdrawal of general confidence, and unequal interest.

2. Then the system was expensive. "The whole concern as it has been heretofore managed," said a member of the Constitutional Convention and a friend of free schools, looking back upon the history of these funds, "is utterly odious in every respect." It neither commanded respect nor invited confidence. "The funds have been intrusted to an army of officers," he continued, "whose fees and perquisites must necessarily consume a large part of the income of the various funds, if they be ever so well managed. . . . Our present system is extravagant and wasteful, the management of our school funds costing us annually one third as much as that of the State government."

3. The management of the lands was partial and unequal. Vigo County, with 8,960 acres of school-section land, as against Johnson County, having 12,000 acres, has realized three and one third times as much in permanent funds. Randolph County received originally 11,520 acres, and has derived a fund of \$32,354; Bartholomew, with one half the same grant, has a present fund therefrom of \$55,115. The Lawrence County grant was three fourths that of La Porte; its invested fund is but one fourth as much. "In one township," said State Superintendent Larrabee in 1853, in his first official report, "the school section happens to be valuable, and sells for a large sum; in another it is worthless. In one township the section falls on the prairies of the Wabash, where the soil is the richest ever shone on by the sun or wet by the dews of heaven; in another it falls in the swamp or a lake, or on a rocky bluff, where six grasshoppers could not find a living. In one township the fund would support, without a tax, schools all the year; in another there would be little, if any, fund at all."

Such management, a loose and optional system, expen-

sive administration, and a glaring inequality of privileges, opened the way for losses, and invited speculation. Within fifteen years from the first sale the shortage had reached nearly \$30,000.

A table is appended exhibiting the condition of the fund in the several counties at the close of the year 1856, immediately following the separation of the two funds, as required by the decision of the Supreme Court in 1854. The statement is made to include (1) the number of sections sold, (2) the average proceeds per section, and (3) the total fund from this source.

Table of Congressional Township Lands and Funds, 1856.

COUNTIES.	Sections sold.	Average yield.	Total fund.
1. Adams	11	1,771	\$19,551 97
2. Allen.....	17.5	2,446	44,027 78
3. Bartholomew.....	....	....	14,826 92
4. Benton .....	....	....	25,222 84
5. Blackford.....	4	1,728	6,903 47
6. Boone .....	....	....	18,060 59
7. Brown.....	....	....	8,480 53
8. Carroll .....	....	....	30,751 50
9. Cass.....	....	....	32,280 14
10. Clark.....	....	1,234	6,526 80
11. Clay.....	....	....	15,557 30
12. Clinton.....	11	1,943	21,781 55
13. Crawford	7	1,812	9,876 00
14. Daviess.....	11	1,404	16,808 30
15. Dearborn.....	....	....	23,223 62
16. Decatur.....	11	1,707	19,506 30
17. De Kalb.....	12	1,474	17,684 00
18. Delaware	12	1,907	22,891 26
19. Dubois .....	....	....	7,925 80
20. Elkhart.....	12	3,346	40,158 13
21. Fayette.....	5	3,011	15,210 63
22. Floyd	3	4,645	13,963 55
23. Fountain .....	....	....	24,703 57
24. Franklin.....	11	4,062	44,692 45
25. Fulton.....	9	1,623	16,011 88
26. Gibson .....	....	....	23,632 71
27. Grant.....	12	2,557	30,688 54
28. Green .....	....	....	17,690 84
29. Hamilton	9	2,319	22,072 47
30. Hancock.....	....	....	12,070 50
31. Harrison.....	....	....	20,194 76
32. Hendricks.....	....	....	26,628 58

COUNTIES.	Sections sold.	Average yield.	Total fund.
33. Henry.....	....	.....	17,356 10
34. Howard.....	7	2,621	18,430 60
35. Huntington.....	11	2,640	29,045 85
36. Jackson.....	....	.....	16,419 55
37. Jasper.....	....	.....	19,667 00
38. Jay.....	....	.....	23,176 84
39. Jefferson.....	10	3,016	24,891 23
40. Jennings.....	....	.....	9,938 11
41. Johnson.....	9	1,185	17,706 87
42. Knox.....	....	.....	16,266 19
43. Kosciusko.....	14	1,812	25,377 96
44. La Grange.....	12	1,438	17,256 80
45. Lake.....	10	1,207	12,070 56
46. La Porte.....	....	.....	52,062 08
47. Lawrence.....	....	.....	14,702 00
48. Madison.....	14	1,824	25,541 00
49. Marion.....	16	1,390	24,237 83
50. Marshall.....	11	1,508	17,430 40
51. Martin.....	....	.....	8,784 48
52. Miami.....	10	2,907	29,381 99
53. Morgan.....	....	.....	14,101 77
54. Monroe.....	11	2,635	26,619 98
55. Montgomery.....	13	1,656	21,118 72
56. Noble.....	....	.....	17,756 25
57. Ohio.....	4	3,841	14,923 09
58. Orange.....	....	.....	8,890 84
59. Owen.....	9	1,727	15,960 00
60. Parke.....	12	2,798	33,580 58
61. Pike.....	....	.....	7,849 99
62. Perry.....	....	.....	14,231 08
63. Porter.....	13	1,972	25,636 56
64. Posey.....	....	.....	8,170 35
65. Pulaski.....	....	.....	11,697 40
66. Putnam.....	15	1,556	24,345 03
67. Randolph.....	16·3	1,830	30,162 42
68. Ripley.....	....	.....	18,276 44
69. Rush.....	....	.....	28,680 91
70. Scott.....	....	.....	9,731 87
71. Shelby.....	12	1,665	20,261 15
72. Spencer.....	9	1,380	12,425 30
73. Starke.....	....	.....	5,849 14
74. St. Joseph.....	....	.....	21,696 07
75. Steuben.....	....	.....	16,278 74
76. Sullivan.....	....	.....	12,322 16
77. Switzerland.....	9	1,666	12,266 98
78. Tippecanoe.....	....	.....	31,430 60
79. Tipton.....	6	3,790	8,642 48
80. Union.....	4	5,525	23,601 67
81. Vanderburgh.....	7	2,727	18,497 35
82. Vermillion.....	12	2,586	31,047 50
83. Vigo.....	11·5	4,817	52,363 49

COUNTIES.	Sections sold.	Average yield.	Total fund.
84. Wabash .....	....	.....	15,057 31
85. Warren .....	....	.....	22,288 21
86. Warrick	18	1,510	19,635 28
87. Washington	1	1,036	27,500 73
88. Wayne	12	3,155	45,845 82
89. Wells	1	3,933	24,550 28
90. White .....	....	.....	26,444 00
91. Whitley .....	....	.....	18,948 23

The total amount of Congressional Township Fund accumulated up to January 1, 1857, was \$1,874,430.04, an average of \$20,600 to each of the ninety-one counties, and \$2,055 for each of the nine hundred and thirty townships. Four hundred and seventy-seven townships had sold all their lands at various rates, from \$1,036, or \$1.62 per acre, in Washington County, to \$5,525, or \$8.63 per acre, in Union County. In but eleven counties did the average proceeds of the sales exceed \$3,000. In twenty-seven the average was less than \$2,000.

Although the records are very incomplete, and the conclusions from them more or less unsatisfactory, the few facts gained are both interesting and suggestive. In Allen County, having 19.5 sections, there had been realized from the sale of 17.5 sections \$19,500, or a thousand dollars less than the average of all the counties, while Wells, having ten sections, had sold but one, and yet could report an invested fund from rents and sale of \$24,550, or four thousand dollars above the average. Again, Madison, Monroe, Vermilion, and Warrick counties had each left unsold one section only out of an average of fourteen sections, reporting but \$25,710 to each county; while Washington County, having fourteen sections out of fifteen unsold, is credited with \$27,500. The differences were very great.

The management of the funds and the lands being more or less optional, and always local, gave rise to great diversities and inequalities, necessitating, after 1855, as will appear

elsewhere,* the proportionally unequal apportionment of other, or the common-school funds, to equalize the revenues throughout the State. As showing this inequality, the following table presents, for ten representative counties, the amount of Congressional Township Fund held by each, per capita of the school census:

COUNTIES.	Amount of fund.	School census.	Per capita.
1. Marion	\$20,852	51,512	\$0 40
2. Vanderburgh	19,825	21,442	90
3. Clay	10,375	9,270	1 12
4. Floyd	18,611	9,528	1 95
5. Jackson	16,632	8,286	2 00
6. Benton	89,431	8,947	10 00
7. Union	28,625	2,532	11 31
8. Warren	46,485	3,907	11 89
9. Jasper	45,533	3,525	12 92
10. Newton	41,035	2,708	15 15

The difference in the amount per capita of this fund held by the various counties may be accounted for, according to Superintendent J. H. Smart,† in four ways: 1. In some counties the original value of the sixteenth section was greater than in others. 2. In some counties the lands were kept and sold at a time when prices were high, while in others they were disposed of at an early day. 3. In some counties the population has largely augmented since the congressional lands were sold. 4. In one or two cases the lands were held until large towns were built in or near them, and they thus became very valuable. •

As early as 1876, townships in seventy-four counties had sold all their school sections, certain ones in the remaining eighteen‡ counties holding 9,245 acres, valued at \$90,369.

* See page 151.

† See Report for 1878, p. 88.

‡ Bartholomew, Fountain, Fulton, Gibson, Huntington, Jackson, Jasper, Lake, Monroe, Newton, Posey, Pulaski, Randolph, Spencer, Starke, Vanderburgh, Wabash, Warren.

Of this, the two counties of Bartholomew and Vanderburgh alone held 944 acres, or one tenth of the whole, worth \$53,120. Two years later but 8,039 acres remained; that is, there had been sold, in the forty-five years, 567,961 acres, at an average price of \$4.18 per acre. By the State report for 1887-'88, 5,161 acres are reported from twelve counties, as shown in the table:

Table of Unsold School Lands, 1888.

COUNTIES.	Acres.	COUNTIES.	Acres.
1. Fountain	354	7. Pulaski	219
2. Fulton	80	8. Starke	240
3. Gibson	320	9. St. Joseph	340
4. Huntington	320	10. Steuben	100
5. Jasper	1,280	11. Vanderburgh	308
6. Newton	800	12. Warren	300

As at present managed, the Congressional Fund is local—that is, township in its application—is received and disbursed by the county officers, the auditor loaning the money on real-estate security, and distributing the revenue to the respective townships, keeping with each a separate account. The book-keeping, incident to this management of the fund, is complicated, and the occasion for losses frequent.

The aggregate fund for the State from this source is approximately two and a half millions of dollars, representing a growth since 1852 of \$700,000, or nearly 50 per cent. It constitutes about one fourth of the entire permanent fund, and yields a handsome revenue.

The accompanying table exhibits the annual increase of the fund since 1866, and such aggregates for the years prior to that date as can be accurately determined. Of course, the value of the unsold lands is only approximate, and has been variously estimated in successive years. These lands yield an annual revenue from rents, but not at all in proportion to the values set upon them:

Table showing Growth of Congressional Township Fund.

YEARS.	Total Congressional Township Fund.	Estimated value of unsold lands.	YEARS.	Total Congressional Township Fund.	Estimated value of unsold lands.
1850....	\$1,764,853 45	\$250,000 00	1878...	\$2,372,175 41	\$80,931 88
1854....	1,876,717 35	.....	1879...	2,372,085 72	133,960 29
1856....	1,874,430 04	.....	1880...	2,372,285 69	76,857 00
1866....	2,128,227 84	135,179 00	1881...	2,375,261 88	95,092 00
1868....	2,211,867 76	101,502 25	1882...	2,365,895 20	65,998 04
1870....	2,232,953 47	135,427 90	1883...	2,404,186 72	65,332 07
1871....	2,263,352 66	111,969 00	1884...	2,402,528 55	65,809 00
1872....	2,281,076 69	94,245 00	1885...	2,404,336 82	65,788 00
1873....	2,289,133 76	83,697 18	1886...	2,408,469 96	63,388 00
1874....	2,295,778 63	102,293 40	1887...	2,487,806 39	60,802 00
1875....	2,330,823 87	105,177 25	1888...	2,502,125 27	44,646 33
1876....	2,351,732 18	90,368 71	1889...	2,450,671 79	45,000 00
1877....	2,370,657 94	82,278 88	1890...	2,461,778 97	32,326 00

Of all the States of the Northwest, Indiana, being smallest, received least land; but, excepting Wisconsin, has realized also less per acre for it, the average proceeds in Ohio being \$5.58 per acre; in Indiana, \$3.69. Moreover, the estimated value on school lands remaining unsold in Indiana is about \$30,000; in Illinois, \$2,500,000. For the five States the aggregate proceeds from this congressional grant alone to elementary schools is something more than \$20,000,000. This includes a conservative estimate put upon unsold lands, and is, perhaps, too small.

The following table, adapted from Dr. Knight's History of Land Grants for Education, will present other details for study by those interested:

Table of School Lands and Funds in the Northwest Territory.

STATES.	Grant.	Acres sold.	Proceeds.	Average per acre.
Ohio.....	704,488	664,488	\$3,720,000	\$5 58
Indiana.....	650,317	643,487	2,500,000	3 69
Illinois.....	985,066	976,553	3,700,000	3 78
Michigan.....	1,067,397	715,761	3,800,000	4 58
Wisconsin.....	1,458,649	1,204,110	2,430,000	1 87

CHAPTER XIV.

*SCHOOL FUNDS (Continued).**2. The Saline Fund.*

THE enabling act of Congress, looking to the admission of Indiana as a State, provided that the salt springs within the State, and the lands required for their working, not to exceed 23,040 acres, should be granted to the State, subject to the directions of the Legislature. The same act prohibited their sale, or their lease for a longer period than ten years at any one time. Along with other conditions imposed, the lands were conveyed and accepted, even in excess of the proposed grant—23,829½ acres, or 37·24 sections.

Some of these properties were worked by the State in the following years, yielding a fair profit; but the proceeds were turned into the general treasury. In 1831 the total rents from the salt springs reserves reported to the State were \$143.50; in 1835 they were \$234.12. In 1832 Congress was petitioned by the State for the privilege of disposing of these lands. The request was granted, and at once the Legislature was empowered to sell them "at a price not less than public lands" (one dollar and a quarter per acre), "the proceeds to be applied to purposes of education." The year following, having been surveyed and formally appraised, the lands were put upon the market. The proceeds, by act of the Assembly, were to be paid into the State treasury, securely loaned, and ultimately "devoted to education." In 1834, by special act, the proceeds were regarded as a permanent fund and the "income devoted to the use of common schools." Not for ten years, however, were the moneys so applied to educational or other uses. They were merely allowed to accumulate in anticipation of a time when they might be sufficient in amount to justify their distribution.

Their aggregate accumulation up to 1835, including proceeds of sales, rents, and interest on loans, amounted to \$6,041.56, of which more than half (\$3,800) was derived from

the Orange County reservation. This was loaned, generally in small sums (\$60 to \$100), to farmers throughout the State.

But the accumulation was slow. The land offered was not of the best. Much of it, indeed, was almost worthless, though parts were fertile and desirable for settlement. The grant comprised certain springs and the lands about them, chiefly in Washington, Orange, Jackson, Monroe, and Morgan Counties. French Lick (since famous as a health and pleasure resort), Royse's Lick, and Jackson's Lick were the best known, and environed by some really valuable land. This sold early, the proceeds being held in the State treasury, or loaned with other moneys with mortgage security. But there is a still better reason why the proceeds were withheld from active employment in the schools—there were no schools. This was in that dark decade in Indiana from 1830 to 1840, when, for a period, every year witnessed a more dangerous illiteracy and more discouraging promise. There was abundant legislation but little schooling.

By the law of 1843 it was provided that there should be a superintendent of common schools, among whose duties should be the submission of an annual report to the General Assembly relative to funds held for purposes of education, plans for their better management and improvement, and estimates and accounts of expenditures of such moneys. It was doubtless because of this influence, in part at least, together with the already fairly liberal provision of school funds, that, in 1844, it was ordered by the Legislature that "all money already in hand or to arise hereafter," from the salt lands, "be divided ratably among the counties." It was very little at best, but it was something. The total receipts from this source up to 1844 were \$45,771.37. The next ten years made considerable additions. Up to 1847 there had been sold of the original grant 21,351 acres, all but 2,000 acres of it being in Orange County. At this time (November 1, 1847) the Superintendent of Common Schools reported the total receipts at \$73,515.28. The actual contribution to the school fund was considerably less. This seems

now to be all ; though Prof. Mills mentions in his third message to the Legislature, 1848, that there was credited to the Saline Fund \$69,448.36. Two years later he speaks of the average annual distribution of the Bank Tax and Saline Funds together as about \$9,150.

In 1852, all the valuable lands of this grant having been disposed of, the remainder (1,000 acres), broken and sterile, were ordered sold by the authority of Congress at auction, and at a minimum price of fifty cents per acre. Even under these circumstances, however, the lands were not finally disposed of and all payments made for twenty years. From later sales up to 1865, additional proceeds had been reported, amounting to \$34,323.89. Eight years afterward, in 1873, final settlement was made, and \$6,211.45 turned over to the School Fund.

The total proceeds of saline lands aggregated \$89,478.47, the actual amount realized to the permanent fund * perhaps being about \$5,000 less.

3. *County Seminary Funds.*

Reference has been made elsewhere to the source of support of the old county seminaries. This included exemption moneys, fines for breaches of the penal laws, and, by the law of 1838, unclaimed gaming money recovered.

About 1843 it was provided that in certain localities salt inspectors should be appointed, and further that "if any person or persons should offer for sale or vend any salt by the barrel without being inspected or branded, he should for every such offense be fined in any sum not less than three nor more than twenty dollars . . . for the use of the County Seminary.† But these were in themselves revenue—not invested funds, and were so expended in the year as income. It was a contingent revenue also, exceedingly

* A table of the amounts distributed from 1845 to 1858 may be found in the Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1872, Part II, p. 169.

† Revised Statutes, 1843, chapter xxvii, p. 411.

variable, and always meager. Much of it, in recent years most of it, went for tuition; more or less of it, especially under the earlier workings of the law, was put into buildings, and so saved from absolute loss, the funds so used being supplemented by private subscription, individual service, public donation, and occasional voluntary tax. These houses have already been described as fairly substantial structures, usually brick, two stories, and, for that day and in comparison with common school-rooms, liberally furnished. The lots upon which they stood were sometimes bought and held as State property, more frequently donated by some public-spirited neighbor, and usually so held as to revert to the former owner if diverted from educational uses.

Throughout the session of the Constitutional Convention, among delegates generally, the advisability—indeed, the necessity—of disposing of the County Seminary and its belongings appeared as a settled conviction. Accordingly, Article VIII of the Revised Constitution provided for their closing, and that the fund derived from their sale, and the moneys and properties held for such seminaries, should be turned into and form a constituent part of the Common School Fund.

To this disposition of the properties there seems to have been scarcely a dissenting voice. An occasional seminary had done the State valuable service. But, with few exceptions, the most efficient ones were private or incorporated, and the proposed sale of the County Seminary buildings met with a hearty affirmative response. Prof. Mills had for years urged their reorganization. The official messages of the Governors of the State for more than a decade had noted their inefficiency, and recommended more or less radical changes in their constitution. The members of the Educational Convention (May 26, 1847) almost unanimously favored their legal disestablishment, and, as a body, formulated a bill which was presented to the next Legislature (1847-'48), and which included a provision for the consolida-

tion of funds and the reorganization of the seminaries. Throughout the convention also the continuance of the County Seminary was generally conceded to be unwise.

The like opinion prevailing through the State, as shown in newspapers and public utterances, upon education, the sentiment easily crystallized the year following in statutory form as "An Act to provide for the sale of county seminaries and the property belonging thereto, and to transfer the proceeds thereof to the Common School Fund, after deducting advances made by individuals, and to repay such advances."* Sections four and fifteen, the only portions of the act having immediate bearing upon this topic, provided that interest should be paid in advance upon purchase money, and the principal in equal annual installments. The proceeds, after making the above deductions and necessary expenses, were to be placed "to the credit of the Common School Fund, to be disposed of in such a manner as shall be directed by law."

Governor Wright, in his first message† under the new Constitution, estimated the proceeds of the sale of seminary buildings at not less than \$100,000. In the official statement of the treasurer, as superintendent of common schools (1851), the returns to date were given at \$30,000. Three years later the sum had almost doubled; and in the year 1854 the receipts for the year were \$46,679.79, making a total of \$103,238.03.

But few facts pertaining to the closing up of the seminaries are to be had. In most counties the "closing" meant no more than a transfer of property rights—the school continuing under the same teachers, using the same courses of study, maintained with like funds, and under all the old conditions of social and civil environment.

Many of the seminaries, and often the most prosperous ones, had but just been opened—at least within five or ten years—and some of them had still hanging over them debts

* Approved June 12, 1852.

† December, 1851.

for money advanced or for unpaid service, and so yielded little more than to meet these obligations. A few were sold for nominal sums only, others transferred to the public schools. The Madison County building was open but seven years, being burned in 1856. The one at Centreville was sold in 1852. The year following, the building of the Monroe County Female Seminary passed into private hands; that in Putnam County to Asbury University; and those in Franklin and Henry Counties to the town schools. While the proceeds from the Henry County building netted \$1,100, Marshall County gave up her rights to building and lot for one dollar. The Morgan County building brought \$1,100, and that in Muncie \$1,780. In Randolph County an association formed for the purpose purchased the building, and for many years carried on, under Prof. Cole and others, a most prosperous school, even after the new law became operative in Winchester.

These are to be taken as typical examples of the disposition of the old buildings rather than an attempt at complete statement—the meagerness of the records making the latter impossible.

The total sum realized from this sale of seminary properties was \$103,238.03.

4. The Bank Tax Fund.

In the early history of Indiana there had been established the Bank of Vincennes, having branches at Corydon, Vevay, and Brookville. The institution was at once adopted by the State as the State Bank of Indiana. Here were the official deposits. About 1820 it became known that its business was being loosely managed, and the charter was revoked by act of the Legislature, December 31, 1821.

The bank was charged with specific violations of its charter, and legal proceedings ordered upon the following points:

1. Contracting debts double the amount of its deposits.
2. Issuing more paper, and with fraudulent intent, than the bank could redeem.
3. Making large dividends while

refusing to pay specie for its notes. 4. Embezzling deposits.*

Much of the bank's paper had become entirely worthless, and both Indiana and the General Government suffered losses—the latter most of its \$200,000 deposit of proceeds from lands sold.

The State further contemplated a system of internal improvements, whose prosecution involved ready money that might most easily be provided through a safe banking policy. Besides, under President Jackson (1833) the Federal deposits which had just been withdrawn from the old United States Bank had been either made the nucleus of State banks in other parts of the West, or used to extend the resources and business of existing institutions. It was determined to reorganize Indiana's banking system, and, by a comprehensive policy of internal improvement, enlarge the State's resources and influence.

The act establishing the State Bank was approved January 28, 1834. The institution included (at first) ten branches in various parts of the State, and a central office at Indianapolis. These branches were afterward increased to twelve, located at Indianapolis (central office and district No. 1), Lawrenceburg, Richmond, Madison, New Albany, Evansville, Vincennes, Bedford, Terre Haute, Lafayette, Michigan City, Fort Wayne, South Bend, each independent, but sustaining prescribed legal relations with every other and with the general organization.

The charter was to run for twenty-five years, all banking powers to close January 1, 1857. The original capital stock was \$1,600,000 in \$50 shares, one half to be held by the State, the other by individuals or corporations. For the purpose of providing funds on the part of the State to pay her subscription of stock in said bank and certain advances to stockholders, the State Canal Commissioners were authorized to contract a loan of \$1,300,000, bearing not to exceed five per

* See Blackford, vol. i, p. 267, and Dillon, p. 547.

cent interest, and payable after thirty years at the pleasure of the State.

It was provided that the State Bank, and each and every branch of it, should be mutually responsible for all the debts, notes, and engagements of any of them. Dividends, however, of the several banks were declared independently. The portion of our permanent School Fund now under consideration is derived from the provisions of section 15 of the act,* which reads as follows:

"There shall be deducted from the dividends and retained in the bank each year the sum of twelve cents and a half on each share of stock other than that held by the State, which shall constitute part of the permanent fund to be devoted to purposes of common-school education, under the direction of the General Assembly, and shall be suffered to remain in the bank and accumulate until such appropriation by the General Assembly; and said tax shall be in lieu of all other assessments on stock in said bank."

About 16,000 shares were so held by individuals or corporations, yielding more than \$2,000 annually. The proceeds were allowed to accumulate in bank and in charge of the Sinking Fund Commissioners, but after 1843 were deposited in the State treasury and loaned, as were the university and other funds, providing that so much of the Bank Fund as should be applied to the use of the State should "remain a debt against the State, due to said fund, to be repaid with interest.†

By an act of 1845 more than \$30,000 were distributed to the counties, which has since been augmented to about \$80,000. Since 1852, of course, it forms a part of the Common School Fund, and does not have separate appearance in the official reports of the department.‡

* See Revised Statutes, 1838, p. 96.

† Revised Statutes, 1843, p. 257.

‡ For an exhibit of the distribution of this fund to counties, see State Superintendent's Report for 1872, Part II, p. 169.

5. *The Sinking Fund.*

At the time of the organization of the State Bank, from which originated the last fund named, and to pay for stock, as has been already mentioned, the State issued and sold in London its coupon bonds, bearing five per cent interest. Looking to the meeting of these obligations at maturity, a Sinking Fund was created, as provided in sections 113 and 114 of the bank charter, as follows :

"SEC. 113. There shall be created a fund to be called the 'Sinking Fund,' which shall consist of : 1. All unapplied balances of the loan or loans procured on the part of the State for its stock in the State Bank, or for the purpose of being loaned to stockholders to enable them to meet their stock installments in the bank. 2. The semi-annual payments of interest on the State loans to stockholders and the sums that shall be received in payment of said loans. 3. The dividends that shall be declared and paid by the State Bank on the State stock and the dividends accruing on such portions of the stock belonging to the other stockholders as shall have been paid by the loan on the part of the State, and which shall not have been repaid by such stockholders.

"SEC. 114. The principal and interest in said Sinking Fund shall be reserved and set apart : 1. For the purpose of liquidating and paying off the loan or loans and the interest thereon that shall be negotiated on the part of the State. 2. For the payment of its stock in the State Bank and the second and third installments on the shares of other stockholders in said bank. 3. And shall not be expended for any other purpose until said loan or loans and the interest thereon and incidental expenses shall have been fully paid; and after the payment of said loan or loans, the interest, and expenses, the residue of said fund shall be a permanent fund, and appropriated to the cause of common-school education, in such manner as the General Assembly shall hereafter direct."

This is an admirable instance—one in a thousand—of the

fathers building better than they knew. Banking interests in Indiana gave no precedents of large returns. Two decades of experience were anything else but encouraging. It was meant that the Sinking Fund should pay; it might do more. In this event it was suggested by the Hon. John Beard, representative in the Legislature from Montgomery County, that the surplus profits of the bank should be devoted to education. Perhaps, as has been feelingly said by the Hon. John Coburn, "not one man in a hundred in our State knows the name of him who proposed that the surplus proceeds of the stock of the State in the State Bank of Indiana should be appropriated as a School Fund. He is one of our greatest public benefactors, a venerable, simple-hearted, clear-headed, sound-minded old gentleman, living in Montgomery County, named John Beard. His name ought to be precious in the heart of every boy or girl who enjoys the benefits of free schools. When he proposed the measure it was hardly treated seriously. Nobody thought anything would be left as a surplus; he himself doubtless did not realize its importance. But so it was, he put the net where it caught the golden fish, and we thank him for it ten thousand times; and we thank those steady, straightforward, strictly upright financiers who husbanded these funds for us." *

It was a happy thought of a noble son of the Old North State. For fifteen years he honored his county and the State in the halls of legislation with a service that easily dignifies the century for Indiana and bestows perpetual blessing upon her children. And in the constitution of our School Fund the service of John Beard must stand alongside those of Nathan Dane, Colonel Timothy Pickering, and Dr. Manasseh Cutler.

It is an interesting coincidence that the two men who did most to shape the early school administration of Indiana—the one its finances the other its system—were both

* See Tuttle's History of Indiana, p. 418.

from Montgomery County ; Caleb Mills, originally from New Hampshire, scholarly and professional, worthy descendant of the ultra-devout, severely Calvinistic Puritan; John Beard, from the far South, staunch advocate of freedom, friend of the people, and of characteristic soundness and balance of mind. Reaching Montgomery County in 1823, Mr. Beard was in the Legislature in 1827, where he stood for the abolition of imprisonment for debt, a liberal exemption of property from execution, life sentence as a substitute for capital punishment, and a generous system of internal improvement, not less than a liberally supported, free State education. He was receiver in the land-office at Crawfordsville from 1841 to 1843, and is described by one who knew him as "a walking history of Indiana" for the fifty years of his life in the State. He died September 29, 1874.

It was estimated by Mr. Kinney, writing in 1835, that within eleven years, if wisely managed, the Sinking Fund would be sufficient to pay off the original loan. And the Hon. Hugh McCulloch, cashier of the Fort Wayne branch bank, director of the State Bank, and afterward Secretary of the United States Treasury, in his *Men and Measures of Half a Century*, said: "Long before their maturity the State was in condition to retire the bonds. But, although her general credit had been broken down in the crisis of 1837, and her other bonds were for a number of years regarded as being well-nigh valueless, these bank bonds could not be reached, although a handsome premium was offered for them."

Within seven years, indeed, the fund had so accumulated that the Legislature enacted a law (February 6, 1841) to the effect that when debts due the fund had been collected the amount should be invested in the State Bank stock, whose proceeds in dividends and interest, after paying interest on bank bonds, should be paid into the State treasury. This payment was held to be a loan to the State from the Sinking Fund, bearing six per cent interest, the principal and interest of which were to be paid to the School Fund at the expiration of the banking period. Under this act the State treas-

urer received for that year (1841) \$27,061.51, and for the year following \$29,476.32. The total payments made up to December, 1843, aggregated \$115,781.27, and prior to December, 1847, \$280,070.64.

The official reports of 1855 show the accumulated surplus to have been \$1,465,788.97, in 1857 it amounted to \$1,955,461.59, and in 1858 \$2,780,604.36, so profitable did the enterprise prove to be. By an act of the Assembly of 1859 this residue, or a part of it, was, under specified conditions, ordered to be distributed to the several counties. Accordingly, in September, 1859, \$145,000 were so distributed, and in January, 1860, \$84,574.86 more, reaching altogether sixty-one counties, and equalizing the amounts of Common School Fund, held by the counties severally, in proportion to the number of children listed for common-school purposes.* This money was made a part of the Common School Fund, and as such loaned and made subject to the same conditions as other school funds.

By acts of December 20 and 21, 1865, the balance still in the hands of the Sinking Fund Commissioners was ordered to be converted into State stocks, the office of the Commission abolished after January, 1867, and the entire fund thereafter to be known as "School Fund."

These bonds were as follows:

January 1, 1867.....	\$709,024 85
January 20, 1867.....	2,658,057 30
May 1, 1868.....	184,234 00
January 20, 1871.....	177,700 00
May 3, 1873.....	175,767 07
Total.....	\$3,904,783 22 †

Some additional amounts have been realized, and either distributed to the counties (1860) or included in the State

* See Eighth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Indiana, p. 18.

† By act of the Legislature, 1889, these moneys also were distributed to the counties.

bonds noted above, making the total proceeds of the Sinking Fund to be about \$4,255,731.87, or 43 per cent of the entire School Fund of the State.

For the preservation of these funds, and their faithful devotion to the interests of common-school education, the honor of the State was pledged—in the words of the act—

“For the perpetual preservation of the principal of said school and other trust funds, and for the payment of the semi-annual interest accruing thereon, for the purposes contemplated in the creation of said funds, the faith of the State is hereby irrevocably pledged.” The spirit of the statute was reaffirmed also in the Constitution of 1851, which declares that “the fund arising from the one hundred and fourteenth section of the charter of the State Bank of Indiana shall be and remain a perpetual part of the Common School Fund of Indiana.”

CHAPTER XV.

SCHOOL FUNDS (Continued).

6. The Surplus Revenue Fund.

PRIOR to 1825 the monetary and other interests of the United States had been characterized by much confusion and complexity. The Federal debt of the Revolution amounted to nearly \$40,000,000, and the State debts assumed by the General Government to twice as much more. The Louisiana purchase of 1803, together with certain individual claims upon the French, made a debt of \$15,000,000, paid by the United States in bonds drawing six per cent interest, and due in fifteen years. The debt incident to the war of 1812 added another \$100,000,000.

Notwithstanding all which, by the second quarter of the century, and within a single generation of Washington, and especially during the decade after 1827, the prosperity of the country was almost without precedent. The National debt

had been liquidated, and there actually remained in the treasury a surplus of about \$40,000,000. By an act of Congress, approved June 23, 1836, initiated and championed by Mr. Webster, it was provided "that the money which shall be in the Treasury of the United States on the first day of January, eighteen hundred and thirty-seven, (after) reserving the sum of five millions of dollars, shall be deposited with such of the several States in proportion to their representatives in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States as shall by law authorize their treasurers, or other competent authorities, to receive the same on the terms hereinafter specified."

These "terms" required an official receipt for the money, and an obligation on the part of the State to pay the same, or any part thereof, when called for by the Secretary of the United States Treasury.* It was estimated by Mr. Webster and his colleagues that there would be at the time of distribution \$37,468,859.47 to be disposed of. Upon this basis the division was made. The entire amount was to be paid in four equal installments, each amounting to \$9,367,214.87, and all during the year 1837.

The partition being made to twenty-six States, Indiana's share was \$1,147,005.92. By act of the State Legislature, February 6, 1837, in advance of their receipt, the first and second installments, each of \$286,751.48, were set apart for the purposes of common schools, and the third and fourth ordered to be invested in bank stock in the recently established State Bank. The first three installments were promptly paid; what should have been the fourth was by act of Congress† deferred for a year.‡ The treasury still being empty, this was never paid. The total revenue deposit consequently was but \$28,101,644.61, of which Indiana's share was \$860,254.44. In the actual outcome, therefore, the schools, being given the first two installments, received the full amount of

* Not more than ten thousand dollars should be demanded at any one time from a single State without thirty days' notice; and all the States were to be called upon at the same time for their pro rata.

† October 2, 1837.

‡ To January 1, 1839.

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their original appropriation—\$573,502.96—while the State Bank got \$286,751.48 only.

This, considering the distressing financial condition of the State, was an act of far-seeing generosity. Nearly \$6,000,000 had already been spent upon the great system of internal improvements, whose completion seemed likely to require more than twice as much more. The public debt was \$18,000,000. It might have been expected that the State would apply the Federal deposit to easing the burdens of taxation. In ten States the money was so applied to general purposes. Eight States gave the whole of it to education: four of these were in the South, two in New England, and two—New York and Ohio—of the middle West. Eight States, including Indiana, gave a part of it to education.

Table showing the Distribution of Surplus Revenue.

STATES.	Elect- ors.	Revenue deposit.	Applied to.
1. Alabama.....	7	\$669,086 78	Education.
2. Arkansas.....	8	286,751 48	General purposes.
3. Connecticut.....	8	764,670 61	Education, one half.
4. Delaware.....	8	286,751 48	Education.
5. Georgia.....	11	1,050,422 09	Education, one third.
6. Illinois.....	5	477,919 13	Education, in part.
7. Indiana.....	9	860,254 44	Education, one half.
8. Kentucky.....	15	1,448,757 40	Education.
9. Louisiana.....	5	477,919 13	General purposes.
10. Maine.....	10	955,838 27	General purposes.
11. Massachusetts.....	14	1,338,173 57	General purposes.
12. Maryland.....	10	955,838 27	Education, in part.
13. Mississippi.....	4	332,335 31	General purposes.
14. Missouri.....	4	332,335 31	Education.
15. Michigan.....	8	286,751 48	Internal improvements.
16. New Hampshire.....	7	669,086 78	General purposes.
17. New Jersey.....	8	764,670 61	General purposes.
18. New York.....	42	4,014,520 71	Education.
19. North Carolina.....	15	1,433,757 40	Education, in part.
20. Ohio.....	21	2,007,260 36	Education.
21. Pennsylvania.....	30	2,867,514 80	Education, in part.
22. Rhode Island.....	4	332,335 31	Education.
23. South Carolina.....	11	1,051,422 09	Education, one third.
24. Tennessee.....	15	1,433,757 40	General purposes.
25. Vermont.....	7	669,086 78	Education.
26. Virginia.....	23	2,198,428 04	General purposes.

The preceding table is taken from the New York Historical Records, 1885, page 91, showing the distribution by States. Of the total deposit, about fourteen millions went for education—or one half of it.

By the same act of February 6, 1837, it was ordered that this \$573,502.96 should be distributed to the counties of the State in proportion to the taxable polls for the year 1836, the interest to be used for the support of public schools. The loan was limited to five years, but was, in 1842, extended another five years. In the Revised Statutes of 1843 this fund (ignoring that which was invested in bank stock) was designated as the Surplus Revenue Fund, for the preservation of which the several counties should be held liable; and for the payment of the annual interest thereon at the rate established by law, devoted to the support of public schools in such counties.*

By section 2, Article VIII, of the new Constitution, the Surplus Revenue Fund was made a part of the Common School Fund, and so has been no longer separately reported.

7. *Delinquent Tax Funds.*

The following paragraph is inserted because of its historical significance and relation to the beginnings and legal constitution of the school moneys, rather than for any real addition to the permanent State endowment.

The Congressional Township, Saline, and Seminary Funds all originated in or were confirmed by the Constitution of 1816, and so antedated the Delinquent Tax Fund (1832). But the first has never been made or considered a

* For the distribution of the surplus revenue to counties, 1837, see Superintendent's Report, 1872, Part II, p. 169. Three counties—De Kalb, Lake, and Wells—never claimed their shares of this fund (\$2,125.60 each), so that the amount actually distributed to the counties was but \$567,126.16. The counties of Benton, Blackford, Howard, Jasper, Newton, Ohio, Pulaski, Starke, Tipton, and Whitley were formed later. The deficiencies in these counties were made up in 1854 by a distribution of certain balances of Saline and Bank Tax Funds.

part of any permanent State fund; the second was not so appropriated until 1833, and the last in 1851.

So that it is historically true that the statutory origin of our present magnificent School Fund was in the Legislature of 1831-'32 taking form as "An Act to provide a fund to encourage Common Schools." * It was prescribed that upon lands, whether of non-residents or others, whose taxes were delinquent for three years, the School Commissioners should charge up a penalty of 50 per cent on the taxes, and at the rate of 100 per cent per annum on said tax until the same shall be paid; specifying that "the said tax, penalty, and percentage shall be a lien on the land until paid to the School Commissioner; the same to be loaned out in the same manner as the moneys arising from the sale of school sections. And the interest on such loans shall be faithfully and equally applied for the use of the common schools in the manner hereafter directed by the Legislature."

After three years, further, it was provided that "the land might be sold for the purpose of augmenting said Common School Fund." Two years later (February 7, 1835) the Legislature enacted that "moneys raised by this act, or the act to provide a fund to encourage common schools, shall, by the School Commissioner of each county, or other officer acting in his stead, from time to time as the moneys may come into his hands, be paid to the order of the township trustees in the same manner as the township money is now disbursed." In 1839, Mr. Kinney, as chairman of the Committee on Education, in a masterly report to the House of Representatives, estimated that the proceeds of the land-tax sales for the State amounted to not less than \$10,000 annually; but complained, and justly it seems, that, contrary to the express provisions of the law, the principal was being used. In the Revised Statutes of 1843 delinquent taxes are otherwise disposed of, and do not elsewhere receive mention.

During its existence the law was one whose operation

* Approved February 2, 1832.

affected alien land owners most; perhaps it was meant to do so chiefly. From fifty to seventy-five thousand dollars, perhaps, were derived from this source, and, except for the expense of handling, went, as other school revenue, for the current support of the township schools. No record appears of any additions made to the permanent fund.

By an act of the Legislature, approved March 3, 1853, county treasurers were authorized "to sell lands returned delinquent for seven years, and apply the proceeds to the Common School Fund of the State."

8. The Swamp Land Fund.

In order to understand the Swamp Land donation, it is necessary to take a survey, briefly, of the history of the enterprise before it touched Indiana.

Ten years prior to the grant Arkansas and Missouri had asked through Congress the means for, or the privilege of, draining and so reclaiming certain swamp and waste lands lying along their boundaries. In 1847 the Commissioner of the General Land Office recommended that "such swamp and other lands as are from local causes unfit for settlement and cultivation in their present condition" be granted by Congress to the States in which they lie, "in order that such portions of them as may be reclaimed may be made productive and available to such States for purposes of education, internal improvement, and such other public uses as those States may deem best calculated to advance their own peculiar interests."* It will be seen that here is a suggestion of educational uses of the proceeds of these swamp lands, though associated with others. The year following a bill was reported to Congress, but, failing of passage, it was replaced (1849) by another, whose benefits and provisions were, by the committee, extended not to Arkansas alone, but

* For a full presentation of the question of Land Grants, and especially of the Swamp Land Grant, see Knight's *History and Management of Land Grants for Education in the Northwest Territory*.

"to each of the other States of the Union in which such swamp and overflowed lands may be situated," in which form it was approved September 28, 1850.

The article required a survey, description, certified lists, and plats of the lands, the issue of the patents therefor, and the fee simple of such lands to be vested in the States, subject to the disposal of the respective Legislatures.

No mention was made of the objects of the grant except that "the proceeds of said lands, whether from sale or by direct appropriation in kind, shall be applied exclusively, as far as necessary, to the purpose of reclaiming said lands" by means of the necessary levees and drains. "The possibility of surplus revenue accruing to the State," however, says Mr. Knight,* "was known to the committee who reported the bill to Congress in 1850. In their report they quoted with approval the suggestion of the Land Commissioner regarding the use which the States might make of the proceeds of the lands."

The total amount of lands patented to the several States aggregated 48,802,271 acres. Of the States of the Northwest Territory, Indiana and Wisconsin, by Constitutional provision, dedicated the surplus proceeds to education; and Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois, by statutory enactment, within ten years. Prior to 1880 the lands conveyed were as follows: Ohio, 25,640 acres; Indiana, 1,257,588 acres; Illinois, 1,454,283 acres; Michigan, 5,659,217 acres; Wisconsin, 3,071,459 acres. In 1851 the Governor estimated Indiana's grant at a million and a quarter of acres. Up to June, 1853, there had been patented in the six land districts of the State 1,210,620 acres. By the State Department of Public Instruction it was finally reported as 981,682 acres. Much of it is not even yet reclaimed.

The money returns from the lands are more uncertain than the surveys and maps. The Educational Committee in the Constitutional Convention placed the probable surplus

* See Knight's Land Grants, p. 22, and note.

to be turned into the School Fund at half a million dollars. Governor Wright, quoted above, anticipated an increase of the School Fund from this source of not less than a million dollars. Hon. J. P. Drake, Treasurer of the State, and *ex-officio* Superintendent of Common Schools at the time of the grant, estimated their probable value to the schools at \$700,000. Greatly as these estimates differed, they were all far from correct. The sequel came soon. The auditor's reports, after 1853, do not mention the swamp lands as even a possible source of income. The proceeds were absorbed in the effort and pretense of draining them. In 1865 Hon. George W. Hoss, Superintendent of Public Instruction, bemoaned the fact that while most of the lands had then been sold, "nothing from their source had been added to the fund." "It is, however, believed," he continues, "by good men that much might have been added thus if the Swamp Land Commissioners had cared less for themselves and more for education—briefly and plainly, if they had all been honest." Indeed, it is greatly to be regretted that nothing has been realized from so promising a grant. Ohio and Indiana only of this group of States have lost the whole of it. Michigan reports not less than \$400,000; Illinois, \$1,000,000; and Wisconsin, \$1,147,071—all devoted to education. At the rate of proceeds in Illinois, Indiana should have had \$850,000 from these lands.

At one time—about 1870—\$42,000 of this fund was reported as lying in the State treasury, but after 1872 it no longer appears in the reports. Even this was used, perhaps, upon the land. The schools have none of it.

The most hopeful view, perhaps, that may be taken of the entire transaction is fairly presented in the reflections of Superintendent Mills in the fourth annual report of the department, 1855. Even then, but five years after the donation had been so generously made, the indications were that "the heir of this noble bequest would find among its assets, after the debts were paid, little else than the good-will of the testator and the kind wishes of his executors."

It was not uncommon for Prof. Mills to see better things for the State than a large endowment of education even. At one time, commenting upon the Congressional Township Fund, he was led to say that if the entire sixteenth section fund could be exchanged for an all-pervading and liberal sentiment toward learning, the State would be the better for it. So in this instance he was constrained to add: "Though the Swamp Land Fund will be completely exhausted in rendering these lands fit for agricultural purposes, yet its conversion into material ditches will not be without a favorable connection with the educational interests of the State. Thousands of acres will thus be redeemed from the dominion of frogs and fever miasma and converted into fields loaded with the rich fruits of the earth, or clothed with flocks and herds more numerous than ever graced the inclosures of the man of Uz. The revenue ultimately arising from the agricultural improvements of these lands will doubtless prove more extensively and permanently useful to the cause of popular education than the entire proceeds of their sale would have effected had they all been added to the School Fund. Though this fund of magnificent dimensions has been literally drained, yet its underdrains will impart increased fertility to the educational manor, whose proceeds will be an ample equivalent for all disappointed hopes in that direction."

The State has yet some thousands of acres to be drained and reclaimed; but whether the School Fund will profit thereby remains to be seen.

9. Contingent Funds.

Aside from the determinable contributions to the permanent school funds already noted—the Congressional Township, Saline, County Seminary, Delinquent Tax, Bank Tax, Surplus Revenue, Swamp Land, and Sinking Funds—the State fund has at various times, and in unequal and annually varying amounts, received additions from other and incidental, though sometimes even more productive, sources.

The moneys referred to are generally the outcome of statutory provision, though occasionally given permanence by constitutional requirements, and are exceedingly variable. They are grouped together under the head of "Contingent Funds," and include (1) escheated estates, (2) the proceeds of stray sales, (3) certain taxes assessed upon corporations, (4) fines assessed for breaches of the penal laws of the State, (5) forfeitures, and (6) the net proceeds of sales of the Michigan road lands.

Upon a final summary it will be found that little has been added to the permanent fund from any of these sources or all combined; but they show clearly a wholesome and saving tendency to regard the encouragement of public elementary education as deserving of every consideration. If these have added little, their planning has been part of a movement which has added much. They illustrate well the general policy.

(1) ESCHATED ESTATES.

Prior to the middle of the century there had already accumulated in the State treasury about \$2,500 of estates without known heirs.

In the Revised Statutes of 1843 it was provided* that "if any person dying intestate shall leave no heirs or kindred entitled to the inheritance . . . his estate shall escheat to the State of Indiana, to be applied exclusively to the support of common schools of the several townships of the county or counties in which such may be situated, in such manner as may be directed by law." A similar provision appears in section 367, chapter xxx, of the same laws. But no mention is there or elsewhere made of any legislative direction as to the use of the moneys. Either there were no moneys or their statutory disposition was neglected. The revised Constitution also specifies as a part of the Common School Fund "all lands and other estates which shall escheat to the State for want of heirs or kindred entitled to the inheritance"—a

* Section 125, chap. xxviii, p. 438.

provision which was reaffirmed by the law of 1852 in as many words.

Seeing that, being paid into the State treasury, no profits were derived from these moneys, Superintendent Rugg * recommended that they be paid into the county treasury and there added to the Common School Fund, invested as such, and the proceeds used in the county where collected.

By November, 1865, the accumulations amounted to \$5,888.03, and three years later to \$16,702.42. Superintendent Hobbs (1868) urged that, while no records existed to indicate whether this money had really escheated, and the whole deposit might be only an illusion, "it be put into active service for the benefit of public schools until it can find legal claimants," and that a date be specified "after which claims shall not be allowed, that it may properly escheat to the State."

Milton B. Hopkins also (1872) found more than \$17,000 unclaimed estates lying in the treasury, and asked for some law defining the period of escheat. But nothing was done, and nothing has since been done. In neither instance was the recommendation even considered. While nominally, then, for fifty years a source of revenue to the schools, escheated estates have not added a dollar to the fund or revenue.

(2) ESTRAYS.

Under the earlier law, money realized from the sale of estrays was turned into the county treasury. But by act of January 15, 1844, such accumulations were transferred to the Common School Fund of the county, and required to be apportioned among the several school districts. This, however, was held and distributed as revenue, and was in no sense an endowment.

In the Revised Statutes† it is provided further concerning animals adrift, that after their sale, according to the terms of the statute, the net proceeds, after expenses, "shall

* Eighth Annual Report, 1859, p. 11.

† 1852, chap. iv, sec. 7, p. 103. See also School Law, 1885, p. 11.

be paid over to the county treasurer, . . . for the use of common schools, and shall belong to and become a part of the State Common School Fund, and shall be paid over to the Treasurer of State by the treasurer receiving the same for that purpose." The period for reclaiming by the owner was fixed at one year.

Up to 1859 Superintendent Rugg reported that nothing had been added to the fund so as to produce any revenue. Since then, for thirty years, it has received no separate mention by the department, and has really made but insignificant contributions to the fund. In general, the legal expenses involved in the impounding and sales consume the proceeds. In the ten years from 1881 to 1890, inclusive, the total estray fund amounts to about \$750. Though accurate statistics can not be had, it is safe to say that the aggregate additions made from this source are something less than a thousand dollars.

(3) CORPORATION TAXES.

In the now historical "Act to increase and extend the benefits of common schools" of 1849 was taken the first step in a really serious effort to secure general schooling. For the furnishing of means it included, besides a State tax of ten cents on each hundred dollars of property and a twenty-five-cent poll tax, "a tax" also "of three dollars on each one hundred dollars . . . on the amount of all premiums received in this State for insurance on property or lives within the same by agents of insurance companies not chartered therein." Section 2 specified that "these taxes (except that upon insurance premiums) should, together with the Surplus Revenue Fund, the Saline, and Bank Tax Fund, be . . . set apart for the support of schools within the respective counties of the State, and be denominated the County Common School Fund."

On the contrary, it was specified that the insurance tax should, through the Treasurer of the State, be apportioned among the several counties of the State according to the number of polls therein, the Treasurer paying over to the

several county treasurers "their respective proportions of said fund, which shall be added to and become a part of the County Common School Fund."

It is not at all clear that this tax upon the business of foreign insurance companies was meant to be held in trust as a permanent fund, though the wording of the law and its association with the other invested funds suggest it. If there were such taxes, however, devoted to education, they went as revenue, not into the investments. Nevertheless, it gave a kind of excuse for the action of the convention, and of the next following Legislature, in including taxes upon corporations as a possible source of revenue for the schools. In the Constitution the last-mentioned constituent element of the permanent Common School Fund comprises "taxes upon the property of corporations that may be assessed by the General Assembly for common-school purposes." The provision was made a part of the statutory law of the schools the year following, and gave early promise of returns. The promise seems not to have had even the beginning of fulfillment. If there were such proceeds, they have not been made matters of record. Superintendent Rugg, indeed, in 1859 found that they had "never been separated from other school taxes and added to the Common School Fund; but they had gone to the account of revenue, and as such been expended," implying the existence of such moneys, but charging their diversion to the annual revenue.

In the year 1847, consequently under the old Constitution, a charter was granted for the building of a railroad between Indianapolis and Terre Haute, now the Vandalia Line. Among the provisions of the act of incorporation was one to the effect that "when the aggregate amount of dividends declared shall amount to the full sum invested, and ten per centum per annum thereon, the Legislature may so regulate the tolls and freights that not more than fifteen per cent per annum shall be divided on the capital employed, and the surplus profits, if any, after paying the expenses and receiving such proportion as may be necessary

for future contingencies, shall be paid over to the Treasurer of State for the use of common schools." *

At least three legislatures prior to 1870 had sought to recover for the School Fund a supposed surplus due the State from this corporation, but without avail. Attorney-General Williamson, who brought suit in the name of the State in 1865, held that no action could be maintained without further legislation. In 1870 proceedings were instituted in the Putnam Circuit Court by the local prosecutor, assisted by Judge Claypool and W. R. Harrison, for the recovery of \$600,000. The case was venued, and has since been known as the "Owen County case." Five years later, after a tedious but sometimes exciting trial, the question went to the jury, who stood eleven for the State, but, before any decision was reached, the case was dismissed by the judge. This sudden and strange termination encouraged the public belief in the strength of the case.

In the mean time, at the special session of the Legislature (1872), the Committee on Railroads was ordered to investigate the matter. After some consideration, the amount probably due was put, by the chairman, at from one to two millions of dollars. The matter was not brought to action, however, and dropped out of notice.

Under Attorney-General Buskirk the case was again brought to trial in Marion County (1875), but in the Supreme Court was dismissed on a technicality. The most recent official attention given the case was in the Legislature of 1889, when an investigation was ordered upon a joint resolution of both houses, but, because of some supposed irregularity, no inquiry was had.†

* Local Laws of Indiana, 1847, sec. 28, pp. 77-84.

† An interesting and detailed review of the case and its history appeared in the Indianapolis Sentinel, Monday, February 2, 1891. No other instance has been found of an attempt to increase the permanent fund by a tax upon corporations. Of the merits of this case it is not in place here to speak. It only concerns the present discussion to note the fact, and its relation to the movement for such fund in the State.

(4) FINES AND FORFEITURES.

Under the "Seminary Law of 1818," which was still in operation in 1843,* "fines assessed for any breach of the penal laws" were to be paid into the treasury of the county, and applied to the public seminaries of that county. By a special act in the latter year,† entitled an "Act to assist and make common schools more effective," it was provided that "money collected on every forfeiture on a recognizance shall be regarded and held as belonging to, and a part of, the Common School Fund of the county within which such recognizance is or shall be taken and forfeited." That "such money shall be paid over to, and managed by, the same authority as is now or may be intrusted with the receiving and managing of the Common School Fund of the proper county, and such money shall be managed in the same manner as other common-school funds are or may be managed by law."

By the Constitution of 1851 both these were regarded as contributing to the permanent funds in the interests of common schools, and were included in the enumeration in section 2.‡ This disposition of both fines and forfeitures was reaffirmed by the school law of 1852. No official information is satisfactory touching the returns from these sources up to the inauguration of our present system.

Under the old seminary policy, aside from the tuition fees, fines constituted a large part of the resources. Indeed, a recent chronicler* of early incidents mentions a noted pugilist of Johnson County fifty years ago who boasted, so frequent were his combats, and so regular his fines, that "he carried one corner of the County Seminary." From what is known of the society of that day, there is every reason to believe that both the occasion for and the assessment of

* See Revised Statutes, 1843, p. 249.

† Ibid., 1843, p. 1052.

‡ Section 2, Article VIII, Revised Statutes, 1852, p. 62.

* See Judge Banta in History of Johnson County, p. 359.

finer for disturbance of the peace were sufficiently numerous.

There seems to have been recognized the danger, however, that these fines would be evaded or lost to the fund, for on the day of the passage of the free-school act another was approved "to regulate the remission of fines and forfeitures," requiring that "all applicants to the Governor for the remission of fines and forfeitures should forward to him with their application the opinion of the propriety of doing so of a majority of the following officers in the county where the fines were assessed or forfeiture occurred, viz.: The Clerk of the Circuit Court, Auditor, Sheriff, County Treasurer, and such officers as shall from time to time have the care and custody of the Common School Fund within the county." A study of the records suggests that there was abundant need of this precaution.

Prof. Mills had, in his messages, inveighed against the waste of these moneys on their way to the school treasuries; and in 1861 Superintendent Fletcher very mildly, but plainly, suggested to the Governor great discretion in the exercise of his power, and "that those who have made fortunes by becoming surety for scoundrels whom they have persuaded to run away will find that your Excellency is not engaged in the business of compounding felonies."

In 1868 the department reported additions to the common-school revenue of "about \$2,000 per annum," through additions to the fund from fines and forfeitures. Even these returns were small—out of all proportion to the means—leading the Hon. Milton B. Hopkins to say: * "There is a widespread belief and a deep-felt conviction among school officers and many others that the fines, forfeitures, and unclaimed witness fees that are parts of both fund and revenue are not faithfully reported by justices of the peace and clerks of courts to the county commissioners." Further, he

* Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1872, p. 33.

continued, "the small amounts reported from this source from some counties would indicate either that the morals of the people are far in advance of the morals of other counties, or justice is not so faithfully administered."

About the same time the Hon. Bayless W. Hanna, Attorney-General of the State, addressed a letter to the boards of commissioners in the several counties calling attention to the law concerning fines, forfeitures, and unclaimed fees, and suggesting that seventeen years (since the revised law of 1855) should have resulted in vast revenues, but adding that the actual results were astounding. In vigorous language he charges that "a vast sum of money either has not been taxed and collected according to law, or, if collected, has been appropriated to personal gain. Either is a violation of law, and should be met with investigation and punishment." He charged too, officially and upon information, "that divers justices of the peace in different counties have not paid in a dollar of fines collected during years of service, thus diverting moneys which belong to the Common School Fund, and that, too, in violation of a penal statute. Such malfeasance, where so much is at stake, should be promptly corrected, to the fullest extent, in every county in the State."

A table was appended to the circular showing that thirty-one counties had not paid in to the State treasury anything from fees, and that the other sixty counties had reported but \$7,826.55, an average annual yield from this source of \$7.16 for each county of the State. What was true of unclaimed fees was equally true of fines and forfeitures. Remission of both or failure to report them was common. The table on the next page indicates the returns after 1867 of the latter. The former—"unclaimed fees"—being made a part of the school revenue, call for no treatment here.

It is impossible, because of imperfect records, errors in reports, and occasional diversion of the funds, to be accurate either as to averages or totals of fines and forfeitures. The aggregate addition from this source is about a million and a

Fines and Forfeitures—Annual Additions.

1868.....	\$32,904 59	1880.....	\$43,910 48
1869.....	35,755 57	1881.....	43,262 65
1870.....	34,103 10	1882.....	53,591 59
1871.....	29,996 49	1883.....	54,470 93
1872.....	39,306 51	1884.....	58,220 46
1873.....	43,171 61	1885.....	49,860 77
1874.....	64,091 71	1886.....	57,907 91
1875.....	46,339 05	1887.....	68,423 30
1876.....	56,056 30	1888.....	70,617 03
1877.....	38,143 73	1889.....	44,094 58
1878.....	47,663 97	1890.....	68,208 16
1879.....	38,841 46		
	\$506,873 69		\$602,567 91
			506,873 69
			\$1,108,941 60

quarter of dollars, representing an average annual contribution from each county of twelve thousand dollars, or an average annual increase of the permanent fund by about \$50,000.

(5) MICHIGAN ROAD LAND FUND.

Of this fund it may be said, as of certain others already noted, it is chiefly interesting because of the opportunity, not for the outcome.

Article II of the treaty with the Pottawattamie Indians, October 16, 1826, ceded lands from Lake Michigan to the Wabash River one hundred feet wide for a road; and one section of land additional for each mile of the road, and another section for each mile of a road from this Wabash terminus through Indianapolis to the Ohio River. The year following the State was authorized to locate and make the road and dispose of the lands. The total cession amounted (as estimated) to over 170,000 acres. To this the State's title was confirmed by act of Congress, March 2, 1831. Some years later an act of the State Legislature provided that any excess of lands or proceeds, after specified surveys, opening, and improvement of the road, should, through the State treasury, be held for the benefit of the common schools. Nothing, however, is known to have been realized from this

source, the moneys having been absorbed in the construction of the road.

10. Analysis of the School Fund.

The subjoined outline will serve to exhibit the relations of the several parts of the general fund for education. The table is rather true historically than in fact, No. 5 of the fixed funds and 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 of the contingent funds being practically non-productive.

Table showing Sources of School Funds.

PERMANENT FUNDS.	Congressional Township Fund.		
	Common School Fund.	Fixed.	1. Saline Fund.
			2. Surplus revenue.
		Contingent.	3. Bank tax.
			4. Sinking Fund balance.
			5. Swamp Land Fund.
			6. County Seminary Fund.
			1. Fines.
			2. Forfeitures.
			3. Escheats.
			4. Estrays.
			5. Corporation taxes.
			6. Michigan road sales.
			7. Delinquent taxes.

Below is given a table to exhibit more graphically the composition of what is now known in legal phrase as the Common School Fund. As has been elsewhere mentioned, the presentation can only be approximately correct. What with loose book-keeping, occasional confusion of funds, a few losses, and more careless reports, some of the amounts can only be estimated. It is suggestive, however, of the composite nature of the fund and its growth.

Table showing Analysis of the Common School Fund.

1. The surplus revenue	\$573,502 96
2. The County Seminary proceeds.....	103,235 08
3. The bank tax.....	80,000 00
4. The saline lands proceeds	85,000 00
5. The Sinking Fund.....	4,255,731 87
6. Fines and forfeitures.....	1,108,941 60
7. From all other sources	1,088,658 75
	<hr/>
	\$7,290,065 21

CHAPTER XVI.

*PERMANENT FUNDS.**1. Management of Permanent Funds.*

It will thus be seen that the Indiana School Fund has been gathered from very diverse sources, is unequally productive, and variously managed. The preceding chapters have aimed, primarily, to present the question historically, tracing the moneys from their origin as State investments, deposits, or proceeds, through their more important modifications, and chiefly for the first period. Some of the funds, as that derived, or supposed to be, from the sale of swamp lands, and certain of the contingent funds, resting upon more recent legislation, have been followed down to the present. This seemed necessary, to make the view complete.

As has been seen, however, the new Constitution provided for the consolidation of all the endowments of elementary education into one "Common School Fund." In so far as this relates to the Congressional Township Fund, it had been repeatedly urged by Prof. Mills in his messages to the Legislature (1846-'50), and again in his letters to the convention. The experience of Michigan, admitted a State in 1835, almost twenty years after Indiana, but with a school system from 1837, emphasizes the unwisdom of the Indiana policy during that first generation of Statehood. It was advocated also in the convention by friends of a State-controlled system, and particularly by leading members of the Committee on Education. Hence the provision of the new Constitution.

Such policy, it was argued, would greatly simplify the management, the disbursement of revenues would be more economical, resources would be equalized for the State—the richer and the poorer localities sharing privileges and responsibilities alike—and the standard of general intelligence uniformly elevated. The former management of the school funds had been a process of dissipation. By a stroke of cen-

tralization it was meant to secure an authoritative control and avoid waste.

The sentiment was promptly incorporated into the general law enacted June, 1852, and appeared almost immediately in the action of at least a portion of the counties turning all of their school moneys into one fund, producing a common revenue. This meant, of course—could only mean—an equal sharing by all counties in the proceeds of the congressional grant of lands, the Federal deposit, the Saline and Swamp Land funds, the Bank Tax and Sinking funds, fines, forfeitures, and escheats, seminary properties, and taxes upon corporations. "The State tax," also, to be assessed for school purposes, "instead of being distributed in the counties in which it was collected, was paid into the common fund for distribution throughout the whole State."

The evident policy outlined by these constitutional and statutory provisions met with more or less opposition, and with other changes led to outspoken dissatisfaction. Property centers objected to paying a tax to assist in supporting schools in the poorer districts. Even the more dependent schools were willing to forego longer terms in order to have the management of their own funds. The privilege to exercise local authority in school affairs was held dear by every class.

But even more serious were complaints against the diversion of the Congressional Township Fund, and the equalization of the proceeds by distribution, annually, to all the townships of the State. This fund, arising from the sale of the sixteenth section, varied greatly in amount in different townships, as has been seen, and it was claimed that "the Legislature had no right to divert it from the inhabitants of the particular townships to whom it had been supposed to belong and consolidate it with other funds for general distribution."

Almost immediately the administration was obstructed by this class, including, as will be seen, representatives of the highest learning in the State, and unquestioned friends

of free, State-controlled education. Test cases were brought in a number of counties to restrain the payment of the interest on the Congressional Township Fund to others than citizens of the respective townships. Among these cases was one brought in the Franklin Circuit Court, and carried on appeal to the Supreme Court, entitled "*The State of Indiana and others vs. Springfield Township, Franklin County (1854).*" Counsel were provided by the State Board of Education to defend the law. The question at issue was the right of the State to divert the proceeds of the sixteenth section congressional grant from the township of its original location to any other or to a common State fund. The decision was rendered by Judge Stewart,* and held substantially as follows:

"The sixteenth section in the several congressional townships in this State was granted by Congress to the inhabitants of such townships, respectively, for the use of schools therein, and not elsewhere; and the grant was accepted by the State on the terms on which it was made.

"By the sale of the sixteenth section in the several congressional townships in the State, under the act of Congress of 1828, the proceeds became trust funds, to be applied to the use of schools in such townships, respectively, and not elsewhere. . . . A repeal by the Legislature of the act creating congressional townships† could not affect the validity of the grant by Congress of the sixteenth section in those townships to the inhabitants for the use of schools therein, nor give the State any better right than it otherwise would have had to divert the funds derived from the sale of such sections. The grant in question was a contract executed, and incapable of revocation by the Legislature. . . . The school law, so far as it diverts the proceeds of the sale of the sixteenth section in the several congressional townships from the use of the schools in such townships, respectively, to the use of the school system of the State at large, is in con-

* December 28, 1854.

† See Township Organization, p. 145.

travention of section 7 of Article VIII of the Constitution."* The section referred to is one of the educational provisions of the Constitution, requiring that "all trust funds held by the State shall remain inviolate, and be faithfully and exclusively applied to the purposes for which the trust was created."

The opinion of Judge Stewart, quoted here in part only, elsewhere cites the significant fact that, while in Indiana the grant was vested in "the inhabitants of such township for the use of schools," similar donations to Illinois in 1818, and Missouri in 1820, were made to "the State for the use of the inhabitants for the use of schools." In Indiana and Illinois only, of the States of the Northwest, the fund is under local—i. e., township—control. In Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin the proceeds form a constituent part of the State common fund.

In consequence of the Supreme Court's decision the law was, touching this point, revised in 1855, the income of the township lands and funds being secured to the townships as before, leaving the Common School Fund to include moneys from all other sources. Indiana has, therefore, in legal phrase, two permanent funds.

2. Table showing Increase in Permanent Funds, 1853-1890.

YEAR.	Total fund.	YEAR.	Total fund.
1853.....	\$2,278,588 14	1877.....	\$3,924,570 84
1854.....	2,559,808 12	1878.....	8,974,455 55
1856.....	2,785,858 87	1879.....	9,013,061 75
1858.....	2,860,609 72	1880.....	9,065,254 78
1860.....	3,293,426 70	1881.....	9,133,577 09
1862.....	7,193,154 91	1882.....	9,207,411 51
1864.....	7,778,355 94	1883.....	9,271,748 79
1866.....	7,611,337 44	1884.....	9,389,205 58
1868.....	8,259,841 84	1885.....	9,458,085 71
1870.....	8,575,047 49	1886.....	9,518,387 83
1872.....	9,437,593 47	1887.....	9,617,250 49
1873.....	8,590,239 00	1888.....	9,654,552 05
1874.....	8,711,319 60	1889.....	9,765,598 25
1875.....	8,799,191 64	1890.....	9,784,170 56
1876.....	8,870,872 43		

* See 6 Indiana Report, 83. Also the Sixth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (1857), p. 8.

3. The Investment of School Funds.

Concerning the State's school funds, it only remains to summarize briefly, by way of enumeration, the kinds and character of their investment.

To do this now is a simple matter. Since the Legislature of 1889 all school moneys are intrusted to the counties.

The surplus revenue deposit, it will be remembered, was distributed immediately upon its receipt in 1837; the Bank Tax Fund also was apportioned among the counties in part as received, but finally, and in full, upon the closing of the bank (1857); the Saline Fund was deposited as the proceeds accrued, and the sums realized from the sale of the seminary properties under the act of 1852. Besides these, a considerable part of the Sinking Fund had been turned over to the counties prior to 1865; the remainder, for which bonds had been issued to the amount of \$3,904,783.22, was held by the State. By the Legislature of 1889 it was proposed to refund these bonds, which were bearing six per cent, at a lower rate, pay them off, and complete the transfer of school moneys to the charge of the counties. The money realized from the sale of these bonds was ordered to be distributed to the several counties "in the ratio of the vote cast for Secretary of State in the general election of the year 1888."

By this act the entire sum of nearly four million dollars has been added to the county holdings of the school fund. This is not an addition to the original aggregate fund, but a simple transfer of its management from the State to the county.

The money is held and loaned upon the same conditions as apply to the other school funds held by the counties, and for the preservation of the principal, and for the payment of the annual interest upon which the holders are severally held liable. To the county also is intrusted the management of the Congressional Township Fund, now over two and a half million dollars. These moneys include the pro-

ceeds both from sales and rents, the lands being managed by the trustees of the townships.

The principal of all school moneys, of whatever fund, received into the county treasury is loaned by the Auditor for not more than five years, in sums not exceeding one thousand dollars, on freehold security, whose value is double the loan, and bearing six per cent interest, payable annually in advance. The expense of managing the fund is met by appropriations from the general resources of the county, or is included in the regular salary of the official—never from the school moneys. And, furthermore, all deficits, whether of losses from the principal or uncollected interest, or unloaned moneys, must be made up by the county—appropriations being made by the commissioners from the treasury.

CHAPTER XVII.

TWENTY YEARS UNDER THE NEW LAW.

In the two decades of Indiana history just following the adoption of the second Constitution the State passed through a process of reorganization—for the most part a period of disorder and faction. The experience of the first years has already been recounted. Throughout the period legislation was tentative. The attitude of the Supreme Court was anything but assuring. Within three years (1854-'57) what seemed to its friends the most fundamental points in the law of 1852 had been declared unconstitutional by the highest judicial authority. Besides the consolidation of funds and the general tax for building, the appropriation of local taxes, whether township or city, for tuition purposes was forbidden, and the foundation of the system seemed destroyed. The system of 1857 was not greatly better than that of 1847; certainly the obstructions to its administration made it not more effective. Even the township organization could not vitalize

the people's schools without funds. "The system was practically crushed," said one recently, who had himself passed through the struggle—"a fine system, with officers, houses, appliances, etc., but with no money to pay the teachers. Schools in cities that were running nine months in the year dropped down to five, four, or three. Many of the best teachers left the State, others quit the profession, some going to farming or merchandise, others to book agencies, etc. In the words of the brilliant and scholarly Prof. Hinkle, while they found that 'it was unconstitutional to educate in Indiana, it was not unconstitutional to emigrate,' and so they went. This was the condition, and this condition gave Indiana, through a decade of years, a reputation that required another decade to wipe out." *

However disheartening was the experience, two facts were definitely established by these decisions: (1) The township, and the township only, had the authority and could furnish the means to build; and (2) the State, and the State only, might provide tuition. The prospect was not encouraging. The Legislature was not disposed to make or take needless risks with the Indiana judiciary, and the localities hesitated to invest money in houses that must stand idle for five sixths of the time. The Superintendent of Public Instruction had said, in the third report of the department, "if two months and a half of free schools are not a mockery of hopes, and a just cause of complaint, we can hardly conceive of an occasion for dissatisfaction," and intimated that the "state of things could not be endured much longer." Yet his successor, three years afterward, reported the income from both the Common and the Congressional Township Funds to be sufficient for from two thirds to three fourths of a month only of school, and the State taxes for about six weeks, or a total schooling in the year from all available public revenues of about forty-five days. For every "additional month of schooling in each district there would be required an addi-

* Prof. G. W. Hoss, in *Indiana School Journal*, June, 1885.

tional State tax of seven cents on each one hundred dollars' worth of property." During the year 1859 the entire school revenue of every kind—State and local—distributed to the schools averaged but ninety-four cents per child—only \$68 to each of the sixty-five hundred schools.

Nevertheless, people were hopeful. Within the first five years of the new law (1852-'57) there were built throughout the State more than 2,700 school-houses, at a cost of \$1,100,000. The State had a productive fund of three million dollars, but, prohibited from using local funds and with meager revenues, with a meddlesome Legislature and a querulous judiciary, the course of education, when not turbulent, was obstructed. Schools were closed, houses begun were left unfinished, contracts were broken, teachers left the State or opened private schools, and the State had but an apology for a system.

Scarcely had the force of these unfavorable decisions been fully apprehended by the people when the administration was found to have brought itself to even greater embarrassment. The inadequacy of funds mentioned, coupled with the ambition to make the most of even the scanty privileges left to the people, led, in a large number of districts, between 1858 and 1860, to trustees anticipating their revenue—i. e., having in one year, and for the schools of that year, expended in advance the revenue that would accrue to their townships from the next year's distribution. Because of which misappropriation of the State's moneys the Legislature enacted * that revenues derived from the Common School Fund, or from the State school tax, might not be anticipated, or used in advance of their apportionment. Immediately the State Superintendent, with the advice and legal counsel of the Attorney-General, directed that trustees who had so used the funds should employ the next apportionment to cancel the indebtedness. As a result, not less than one fourth of the districts of the State were without free schools during the

* March 11, 1861; see also 30 Ind. 178, 180; 75 Ind. 368.

year 1861. The schools were, however, maintained by subscription and donation of funds by local education societies and the co-operation of the churches. Two thousand districts had for a year only such schools as private interest might temporize. There were schools, however, and frequently better taught and supported than the public schools.

In Indianapolis, from April, 1857, to May, 1860, there is no record of any public money being paid to teachers. In the latter year the schools were open twenty-one weeks, and the following year one week longer. From 1858 to 1864 the city high-school was closed. In Terre Haute all public schools were closed from 1854 to 1860. In New Albany the schools were closed from 1858 to 1860, and again for three years from 1861 to 1864, the rooms being rented to teachers for the use of private schools. In Muncie, between 1853 and 1867, during four years there were no schools, and for the other ten an average of but sixty-seven days each. The schools organized in Jeffersonville, 1853, "had," in the words of a resident, "but a feeble, sickly existence, without reputation or influence for good; patronized by but few of the citizens who could afford to provide for the education of their children at private expense. They lingered on until the enactment of the law of 1865."

Another impediment to education during this period (1852-1872) was incident to the drain upon the thought, time, and means of the people by the civil war. This was especially true of the southern half of the State, on the borderland of the Confederacy, peopled from the South and interestedly following, if not in sympathy with, the movements of Southern social and political life. The school administration was given a political significance in the heat of that struggle, and met with factions and obstruction as it has not since. In 1862 a part, at least, of the school buildings of New Albany were leased by the trustees to the United States Government for hospital uses for disabled soldiers—remaining in their possession for more than a year.

But, despite these hindrances, education was not neglected.

Schools were multiplied, endowments were augmented and conserved, the public interest in free schools became more general, legislation more definite, and the forces, as we now look back upon them, seemed shaping themselves for a sound educational system. Culture became aggressive. The movements that have made Indiana educationally, if they did not take their rise in this period, began their growth anew.

There follows a study of the conditions and achievements of the first score of years under the new order, from 1852 to 1872.

1. Revival of Seminary Organizations.

Among all the movements of the period that contributed to the improvement of education, none was more wholesome or effective than that which led again to the establishment of private and incorporated academies and secondary schools in the twenty years following the first reversal of the free-school enterprise in 1854. These were the counterpart of the earlier county seminaries and their contemporaries from 1825 to 1850.

City schools once started had been closed; the old public seminary buildings had been disposed of, and the schools abandoned; and even the elementary rural and village schools were greatly restricted by the attitude of the Supreme Court touching local tuition taxes. The State system, in the moment of promise, was robbed of the means to make its service effective. Free public-school education seemed little better than a pretense. It cost too much to be ignored; it was far too meager to be held sufficient.

In this condition, schooling would have languished but for private interest and church zeal. As usual, from business foresight, or professional ambition, or philanthropic motives, or neighborhood pride, the needed work, neglected by the State, was yet carried on; not always economically, or to the greatest profit, but withal faithfully and efficiently. No period is richer in worthy effort, self-sacrificing devotion to high principles of duty, or larger progress in right education than this. It has been a pleasing, self-imposed task of

the author to search out the history and trace the influence of these noble seminaries and their principals, who did so much for education in Indiana. It increases one's respect for a people who could so turn defeat into victory as did the fathers of the last generation.

The accompanying table is presented, not as an exhaustive list of the secondary schools of this period, but rather as suggesting the vigor and comprehensiveness of the movement which led to their establishment:

Table of Seminaries established since 1850.

Location.	Name of institution.	Date.	Remarks.
1. Indianapolis.....	Business University.....	1851	Private.
2. Hope.....	Seminary for Young Ladies.	1851	Moravian sch'l.
3. Brookville.....	Brookville College.....	1852	M.E., closed '74.
4. New Albany.....	De Pauw College.....	1852	M. E.
5. Wabash.....	White's Manual Labor Inst.	1852	Friends.
6. Wolcottville.....	Wolcottville Seminary.....	1852	Closed, 1868.
7. Liber (Jay Co.)...	Liber College.....	1853	Private.
8. La Porte.....	La Porte Female Institute..	1853	Private.
9. Fort Wayne.....	Presbyterian Seminary.....	1853	
10. Logansport.....	"Public" School.....	1853	Private.
11. Dunlapville.....	Presbyterian Seminary.....	1853	
12. Moore's Hill.....	Moore's Hill College.....	1854	M. E.
13. Manchester (Dearborn Co.).....	Manchester Institute.....	1855	Private.
14. Lafayette.....	Western Female University.	1855	Baptist.
15. Notre Dame.....	St. Mary's Academy.....	1855	R. C.
16. Bedford.....	Bedford College.....	1855	Christian.
17. Thorntown.....	Thorntown Academy.....	1855	Friends.
18. Crown Point.....	Miss Parsons' Ladies' Sem.	1856	Private.
19. Hopewell.....	Hopewell Academy.....	1856	Presbyterian.
20. East South Bend..	Academy of the Assumption	1856	R. C.
21. Frankfort.....	Farmers' Academy.....	1857	Private.
22. Rockport.....	Rockport Academy, later "Collegiate Institute"...	1857	M.E., closed '78.
23. Battle Ground....	Collegiate Institute.....	1857	M. E.
24. Battle Ground....	Farmers' Institute.....	1857	Friends.
25. St. Meinrad.....	St. Meinrad's College.....	1857	R. C.
26. Ladoga.....	Ladoga Academy.....	1858	Christian, 1871.
27. Lafayette.....	St. Ignatius's School.....	1858	R. C.
28. Indianapolis.....	Business University.....	1858	Private.
29. Anderson.....	Graded and Normal School.	1858	Private, 1876.
30. Valparaiso.....	Male and Female College...	1859	M. E., 1871.
31. Merom.....	Union Christian College...	1859	New Light.
32. Hartsville.....	Hartsville University.....	1859	U. B.
33. Indianapolis.....	St. John's Academy.....	1859	Episcopal.
34. Roanoke.....	Classical Seminary.....	1859	U. B.

Location.	Name of institution.	Date.	Remarks.
35. New Albany.....	Young Ladies' High-School.	1859	Private.
36. Princeton	Emerson Academy.....	1859	Private.
37. Stockwell.....	Stockwell Academy.....	1860	M. E.
38. Westfield.....	Union High-School.....	1860	Friends.
39. Richmond.....	Business College.....	1860	Private.
40. Bloomingdale.....	Bloomingdale Academy....	1860	Friends.
41. Valparaiso	Collegiate Institute.....	1861	Presbyterian.
42. Salem.....	Blue River Academy.....	1861	Friends.
43. Spiceland	Spiceland Academy.....	1861	Friends.
44. Lafayette.....	Classical Academy.....	1862	Private.
45. Terre Haute.....	Commercial College.....	1862	Private.
46. Columbia City.....	St. Joseph's School.....	1864	Now St. Paul's.
47. South Bend.....	St. Joseph's Academy.....	1865	R. C.
48. Crown Point.....	Crown Point Seminary.....	1865	1881
49. Valparaiso	St. Paul's High-School.....	1865	R. C.
50. Crown Point.....	Crown Point Institute.....	1865	Baptist. 1870
51. Tolleston.....	Tolleston School.....	1866	Private.
52. Oxford.....	Oxford Academy.....	1866	
53. Oakland City.....	Oakland Institute.....	1866	Gen. Baptist.
54. Azalia.....	Sand Creek Seminary.....	1866	Friends.
55. Fort Wayne.....	Our Lady of the Sacred Heart.....	1866	R. C.
56. Rensselaer.....	St. Joseph's Manual Labor School.....	1866	R. C.
57. Lafayette.....	Star City Business College..	1866	Private.
58. Kokomo.....	Howard College.....	1867	Christian.
59. Richmond.....	The Busy Bee Indus. School.	1867	Friends.
60. Logansport.....	Hall's Business College....	1867	Private.
61. Ridgeville.....	Ridgeville College.....	1867	F. W. Baptist.
62. Lafayette.....	St. Mary's Academy.....	1867	R. C.
63. Dover Hill.....	Dover Hill Academy.....	1869	Private.
64. Indianapolis.....	"Scientific School".....	1866	Private.
65. Bainbridge.....	Bainbridge Academy.....	1867	New Light.
66. New Philadelphia.	Academy.....	1867	Private.
67. Williamsport.....	Green Hill Seminary.....	1868	U. B. 1886
68. Greencastle.....	Female College of Indiana..	1870	Presbyterian.
69. Logansport.....	Female College.....	1870	Presbyterian.
70. Bourbon.....	Salem College.....	1870	Dunkard.
71. Logansport.....	Smithson College.....	1871	Universalist.
72. Columbia City....	Green Hill Academy.....	1872	Private. 1878

Here are included only such schools as are fairly second-ary in rank. This does not mean that no elementary work was done, but that they emphasized advanced academic work. The list includes only those having some established record as justifying mention. It is at best, perhaps, only partial. It, moreover, comprises organizations of varying types

and of widely different purposes. But of whatever origin, they reveal the evident aim to make easily available the most liberal academic culture to all classes and with studied economy.

Without any attempt at a logical classification of these schools,* a brief survey of them discovers some interesting groups, whose characteristics are given.

1. In a number of instances the schools of the earlier period were revived now, and found in the atmosphere of the newer educational movement their greater vigor. This was the case with the seminaries founded upon the ruins of the old county organizations, or in the fuller development, or the new lease of life of such as, founded just prior to the adoption of the new Constitution, seemed eclipsed by the greater promise of the new system. To one or other of these classes belong the Wolcottville Seminary, the Indiana Female College, the Union Literary Institute at Spartanburg, La Grange Collegiate Institute, and the better organized seminaries of Muncie, Winchester, New Castle, Salem, and Bloomington, whose best days, really, were after their sale and their reorganization as private institutions under the law of 1852.

2. But another element appears in the establishment of new schools of academic grade by the churches. These were generally true secondary schools, sometimes called colleges, occasionally attaining to college rank; now under the direct control of some church, and again the charge of a minister or layman, who gave it a pronounced denominational bias. Somewhere in the State, at some time during the period, almost every one of its churches was represented in one or

* It is greatly desired and hoped that any added information which readers of this chapter may be able to give touching the old seminaries may be sent to the author for future use. A small part only of the material available has been used, but the information is, at best, only partial. It is in every way desirable that the list of these schools and their reliable characterization shall be made as complete as the present generation can make them.

more schools. The Catholics took the lead in founding nine well-defined secondary schools; the Friends' Society, eight; the Methodists, seven; the Presbyterians, six; the Christian Church, four; the United Brethren and Baptists, two each (the latter made as many as half a dozen other attempts, but without success); and the Episcopalians, the Universalists, the Dunkards, and Free-Will Baptists, one each. In this class of church schools are to be found some of the most efficient agencies for education, not in the period named only, but since as well. Such were Brookville College, Hopewell Academy, Blue River Academy, Ladoga Academy, the Green Hill Seminary, and the Roanoke Classical Seminary, any one of which, in its prosperous period, would dignify the educational effort of any people.

3. Another large class of these schools included those initiated and managed by private enterprise. There were almost a score of them of sufficient note and reasonable teaching to entitle to a favorable mention. The Wolcottville Seminary was for sixteen years, and during all its history, under the principalship of Miss Susan Griggs. Miss Griggs was brought to the State through the agency of the "National Board of Popular Education." She had been a teacher in Vermont, and was a graduate of Newbury Seminary in that State. Among her assistants, also, were graduates from Cazenovia and Newbury Seminaries, from Mount Holyoke and Rockford Seminaries, and Evanston College, Illinois. Besides to Miss Griggs, the school was greatly indebted to the public spirit and liberality of Mr. George Wolcott, who erected and furnished the building.

Among these private schools also was the so-called "Public School" of Logansport, established in 1853 by Prof. Barnett, a co-educational institution with which also Mrs. Barnett was connected. It did an acceptable service during the years when schools were few and real teachers fewer. Mrs. Barnett was a graduate of the Mrs. Willard Seminary at Troy, New York. Another example of such private school whose memory is worth perpetuating is the "Graded

and Normal School," founded at Anderson in 1858 by Mr. Joseph Franklin, and which for eighteen years furnished not only scholarly men and women, but numerous teachers as well to the neighboring schools.

4. A different class of schools, chiefly private, as those last mentioned, but having a specific character setting them off as a distinct group, were the business schools, a half dozen of which, besides a number of "farmers' academies," represent the protest of the period against the extreme humanistic and disciplinary tendencies of the traditional school. The oldest of these, perhaps, and the earliest Indiana progenitor of a line of business schools, was the Evansville Commercial College, founded in 1850. This was followed in order by the Indianapolis Business University (1858), the Richmond Business College (1860), the Terre Haute Commercial College (1862), the Star City Business College of Lafayette (1866), and Hall's Business College of Logansport (1867). Belonging to this class, as being of an industrial character, and only incidentally literary, is the White's Institute, first founded (1852) as a home for needy and orphan children.

Another group of this class of schools, less industrial but having practical aims, is represented by the "Farmers' Academy," such as were built up at Frankfort, Battle Ground, Stockwell, etc. Of the first, as, a few years later, at Ladoga, Milton B. Hopkins was principal, and for a time the sole teacher. It was located, in the year 1857, about five miles south of Frankfort, the house being erected by individual farmers. Mr. Hopkins, who afterward served the State as Superintendent of Public Instruction, was a rare teacher, leaving his pupils thirsting for knowledge while fitting them for responsible positions in profession and trade. Such was the reputation of the school for six years, while Mr. Hopkins remained, that young people were attracted to it from adjoining counties, and led to pursue the higher studies.

A more strictly industrial school, and one of the most successful of its class in the whole history of the State, is the "White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute," located near

Wabash in 1852, and which maintains its industrial character after almost forty years. It was founded upon the terms of a bequest by Josiah White, of Philadelphia, and was designed to be a school and home "for poor children, white, colored, and Indian"; for orphans by preference, for others if means allowed. By the same document provision was made for a like school in Iowa.

The original bequest for the Indiana school aggregated, with interest, \$21,162.54, half of which, it was stipulated, might be expended in the purchase of land, the remainder for improvements. The present property holdings include 760 acres of land and the improvements, including "homes," barns, the school-house, shops, etc., aggregating in value not less than \$75,000.

Children of the three classes have been admitted from the beginning, though for thirty years they were mostly white. In the fall of 1885 the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends, under whose management and care the school was originally put by the terms of the bequest, resolved to undertake some more extended Indian educational work under Government contract. With this in view, the management of what is now generally known as "White's Indian School," or the "Indian Training School," was shared with the "Associated Executive Committee on Indian Affairs in the United States." A special building was erected, and the year following (March 26, 1883) twenty-seven Indian children from the Quapaw, Sac, and Fox Agencies, in Indian Territory, admitted to the institute. The number was soon increased to sixty, then to seventy, and has for recent years averaged from seventy to eighty.

Under the present contract the school receives from the General Government \$167 per annum for each Indian educated, to the maximum number of sixty. Applicants must be not less than six nor more than eighteen years of age, and may each be kept for three years. The school maintains a school for literary instruction, which has been adopted by the local township trustee as constituting a part of the public

system. The five common-school grades are recognized, with a course in physical geography, book-keeping, and vocal and instrumental music added. A reading-room is maintained and two literary societies.

Besides the usual school work, a well-thought-out and established system of industrial exercises is followed. These comprise the varied farm work, a carpenter shop, broom-making, shoe-mending, and gardening for the boys, and chamber-work, sewing, cooking, laundrying, dairying, and fancy work for the girls.

A recent report says of these Indian children: "They learn readily and work cheerfully, habitually, and skillfully." They are imitative, and excel in penmanship and geography, landscape gardening, and the simple arts, and "in obedience, promptness, and industry compare favorably with pupils of other schools."

The present superintendent and matron have been with the institution, and are chiefly responsible for its remarkable growth and general success, since 1874. Dr. James E. Rhoads, of Bryn Mawr, Pa., after visiting the school, was led to say: "It is a most creditable school, and in its whole aspect bespeaks the excellent service it does in transforming Indian children into self-reliant, work-loving Christians."

5. Still a different movement is shown by the larger interest in the education of girls, as appears in the schools open for them, either alone or in mixed classes. Not fewer than fourteen such ladies' schools were opened in as many years. Many of them were private, though most grew up under the influence of the churches. A few of them are deservedly famous.

Two years after the suspension of the La Porte University, Prof. W. H. Churchman, himself a blind man, and well known for his connection with the Indiana Institution for the Blind, opened (1853), in the abandoned buildings, the La Porte Female University. It was a high-grade literary academy for young ladies, and flourished until the building

was burned in 1855. Its short life in no sense measures the extent of its influence.

The Western Female University was a pretentious school, established in Lafayette by Prof. William Brand, of Franklin College, and was meant to afford to young ladies opportunities for a liberal collegiate education. While it failed in this, it nevertheless provided a sensible and fairly complete secondary training at a time when more than elementary instruction was yet deemed superfluous for women and girls.

Among the earliest of these schools, and one of the most efficient, was the De Pauw Female College, established in 1852. Seven years later Rev. R. M. Johnson, then recently of the Ladoga Academy, opened in New Albany, also, the Young Ladies' High School. All these schools were, and generally were meant to be, only high-grade seminaries, but the best of their kind. A statement of the course of one and its management is applicable to all. The Parsons Seminary, in Crown Point, was opened in the fall of 1856, and continued about four years. Its principal was Mary Elizabeth Parsons, a pupil of Mary Lyons and graduate of the Mount Holyoke Seminary, who had taught at Oxford, Ohio, and Greensburg, Ind., and sought at Crown Point to establish a second Holyoke at the West. She died in 1860, leaving behind delightful memories among her students of loving womanhood, scholarly devotion, and inspiring life.

The courses of study in none of this class of institutions differed greatly from those in use prior to 1850. Some of the subjects seem more modern. More of science was included. History began to be taught, and, in the form of grammar, some attention was paid to English. In general, less time was put upon the ornamental and merely classical, and more upon fundamentals. The "Farmers' Academies," and manual-labor schools and industrial movements, and growing business life, had had their influence. Among subjects, the means of education were found to be many. Prescription and exclusiveness were losing their hold.

While many, indeed most, of these institutions sent out both young men and women (a few of the latter) into the schools as teachers, it is noticeable that neither their names nor the articles of incorporation emphasize the preparation of teachers as the purpose of their organization. A few of them, however—as the Roanoke Seminary, the Clinton County Farmers' Institute, Ladoga Academy, Union High School, Blue River and Spiceland Academies, and Brookville College—prepared hundreds for the work of teaching, not for the common schools alone, but for instruction in seminaries and embryo colleges as well.

Not less in this period than in the epoch of county seminaries were there strong and scholarly men and women among the teachers. Besides those already named were Dr. C. N. Sims, the eminent divine, then principal of the Male and Female Methodist College at Valparaiso; Ebenezer Tucker and I. N. Taylor, of Liber College; Rev. O. H. Smith, in the Rockport Collegiate Institute; Prof. Rouse, in the Lafayette Classical Academy; Rev. Daniel Rice, in the Logansport Female College; W. P. Phelon, of the La Porte Technic and Training School; Prof. Wilcox, of the Valparaiso Collegiate Institute; Prof. Shaw, connected for many years with the Hopewell Academy; Prof. G. W. Hoss, professor and later president of the Indiana Female College; J. P. D. John, in Brookville College, and others whose educational services have regenerated the State. They were the best product of their generation, and their schools veritable colleges.

But the period was made eminent not less by the increased recognition accorded to women in the rank of teachers. Mention has already been made of the scholarly and devoted Miss Parsons, of Crown Point; Mrs. Barnett, of the Logansport "Public School"; and of Mrs. Venable, as the assistant of her father, Rev. Mr. Martin, in the Orange County Seminary; of Miss Susan Griggs, also, and others only less well known. Besides, there were Miss Kate Knight and her sister Martha, who for seventeen years maintained a school in Crown Point; Mrs. Goodwin, in Lafayette; Mrs. L. S.

Holmes, for ten years at the head of modern-language instruction in Merom College, and others. Provisions for the better and more liberal education of girls were made both in the establishment of separate schools and in a more general co-educational movement. Women during this period were admitted to full privileges in the State University (1867). The percentage of women among teachers in the common schools was greatly increased also. All of which were but parts of the same social and culture movements which put women into the seminaries, and attracted from other States, as well as the institutions of our own, scholarly, refined, womanly women to be the instructors of the State's youth in seminaries and academies.

Upon the whole, the education furnished in this second seminary period was not greatly unlike that of a generation before. It was the best of its kind, and an admirable substitute in lieu of the needed but absent State system. But it was felt to be far from satisfactory.

There was no co-operation among the schools, at least only such chance uniformity as comes to different agencies operating among the same people at the same time, and having a common purpose. Each school was independent of every other. All the evils of the old district system were, in the seminaries, multiplied and intensified. They furnished the most limited opportunities only for graduation and classification, and so worked at a disadvantage.

Again, they were expensive. Even as compared with the schools of the same time, it was estimated that an equal grade of instruction might have been furnished by the State at from one half to two thirds the cost; or at the same rate have continued the schools fifty per cent longer. It is the history of experiments in this country in every section that private schooling is expensive schooling.

Most serious of all, however, they had a relatively limited patronage, and were more or less exclusive. At best they touched but the cities and towns, with an occasional youth from the rural districts. The great body of children never

entered one of the seventy-five or a hundred seminaries. The ambitious and capable were attracted from whatever residence. But the great class of the mediocre, the unschooled, the ignorant, the improvident, upon whose elevation is conditioned the elevation of the State, were not reached by such schools. The influence of the seminary was saving to its patrons, but lacked the universality that belongs of right to a State system.

With the improvement of the elementary grades, the rise of public high schools, and the integration of the system, the seminaries had less and less place. Except among church schools, the State now has but few left.

2. Legislation of 1865.

In spite of the cumulative discouragements, the friends of education did not generally despair. During the fifteen years from 1854 to 1869, among the superintendents of public instruction were Mills, the father of the system; Larrabee, the first occupant of the office; Rugg, the financier and manager; the scholarly Fletcher and Hoshour; and Prof. Hoss, practical official and teacher—all in perfect sympathy with progressive educational movements, and solicitous for the State's welfare. With educators and interested public men in the professions, tradesmen and citizens generally, they were indefatigable in their efforts to reclaim the ground lost in their recent reverses.

As the surest step, though involving a long and tedious way, it was first sought to amend the Constitution. Accordingly, it was enacted by the General Assembly of 1861 "that the following amendment be proposed to the Constitution of the State: 'Incorporated cities, townships, and towns shall have power, by taxation, under regulations prescribed by the General Assembly, to raise revenue for the support of common schools in addition to the revenue derived for that purpose from the State.'"^{*} This act, failing of recognition by

^{*} March 6, 1865. See acts, regular session, 1865, p. 181.

the Legislature of 1863, became thereby annulled, and the work of reform must either be begun anew or attempted in some other way. A similar bill, having in view an amendment of the Constitution, was introduced into the Legislature of 1865, but nothing came of it.

Some really wholesome changes, however, were made in the school law by this same Legislature of 1865. History and physiology were added to the list of common-school or legal branches; the examiner was given new power; the school entrance was raised from five to six years; and the holding of teachers' institutes made obligatory upon county examiners—topics whose discussion may be found elsewhere. Besides these, the Legislature in regular session formally accepted the congressional grant of land for the encouragement of agriculture and the mechanic arts made July 2, 1862; while at the special session, nine months later, was passed an act creating our State Normal School.

Incorporated cities might issue bonds for the building of school-houses, the incorporation of academies and high schools was legalized, and a section inserted in the revised law to the effect that "the Bible shall not be excluded from the public schools of the State."

3. Re-enactment of the Local Tax Law, 1867.

As a matter of fact, all this was so much gain. Additions to the school course, requiring township institutes, the founding of the Normal School, and accepting the Agricultural Land Grant, greatly dignified the educational attitude of the State. Along with these improvements there was much hope for the common school. Notwithstanding these admissions, the fact is matter of record that with thirteen cities in the State and ninety-five incorporated towns the average length of school term in more than 8,000 districts was yet but a fraction over three months—more than a month shorter than in 1864.

At the second State convention of county examiners, met at the call of Superintendent Hoss during the summer of

1866, resolutions were passed urging three amendments to the school law—the admission of colored children to the benefits of the public schools, the creation of a county board of education, and provision for local tuition tax. During the following session of the Legislature this message of the convention, the common burden of school men throughout the State, was carried by the superintendent (G. W. Hoss) to the educational committees of the Assembly, and, in the author's own words, they were asked "to consider heroic treatment—namely, the re-enactment of the law decided unconstitutional in 1855 and 1857. This," he continues, "looked bold, almost rash, but after several meetings, a great deal of argument, and no little planning, the committees agreed to bring in a bill to that effect. The chief points presented in the argument were two: (1) That a general tax which would raise revenue sufficient to run schools six months in the rural districts would raise an excess of revenue in the cities, and thus work an injustice to them. (2) Public sentiment concerning the common-school system had greatly changed from 1857 to 1867, and hence (a) no one would have the hardihood to bring suit against the law in the next ten years; and (b) if suit should be brought, the Court would, in all probability, hold the law constitutional."

The act, having passed both houses, was approved March 9, 1867, and reads as follows:

"SEC. 1. That the trustees of the civil township, the trustees of incorporated towns, and the common councils of cities shall have power to levy annually a tax not exceeding twenty-five cents on each one hundred dollars of taxable property, and twenty-five cents on each taxable poll; which tax shall be assessed and collected as the taxes for State and county revenues are assessed and collected.

"SEC. 2. The funds arising from such tax shall be under the charge and control of the same officers, secured by the same guarantees, subject to the same rules and regulations, and applied and expended in the same manner as funds arising from taxation for common-school purposes by the

laws of this State; *Provided*, That the funds assessed and collected in any civil township, incorporated town or city, shall be applied and expended in the same civil township, incorporated town or city in which such funds shall have been assessed and collected."

It will be seen at once that this is essentially the same law that was pronounced by the Supreme Court of the State in 1854 and 1857 to be unconstitutional. Nevertheless, it stood unquestioned for eighteen years. In the generation following the first adverse decision in 1854 public sentiment upon the means and conditions of education had greatly changed. The money invested in school property had increased from less than half a million dollars in 1854 to almost four millions in 1865, and to more than fourteen millions in 1885. The value of illustrative apparatus alone used by the common schools in the last-named year exceeded that invested in all school properties thirty years before. The enrollment in the public schools had more than doubled, the number of teachers had trebled, and the revenues expended had increased from about half a million dollars in 1854 to five millions in 1885, or nearly ten times as much. With such material exhibit, and backed by a very general sentiment of confidence in the efficiency of free schools, the people were slow to feel, and slower yet to express, any opposition to their general support. The "free school" seemed to have justified itself.

Finally, however, a case was brought to test the constitutionality of the act of March 9, 1867. After eighteen years of educational experience, years of toil and sacrifice, that had put fifty millions of dollars into elementary training—years whose unselfish efforts had raised Indiana from the rank of twenty-third among the States in literacy to the fourth, and so redeemed the name of "Hoosier"—the old antagonism to free, public, State-directed, State-supported elementary schools was concealed behind, though easily apparent through, the equally old charge of "unconstitutionality."

The case was that of *Schenck vs. Robinson*, brought in

the Switzerland Circuit Court, in which an injunction was sought restraining the treasurer of that county from collecting a tax assessed against the complainant's property by the common council of the city of Vevay. It was claimed, as in former like cases, that "the statute authorizing the common councils of cities to levy a school tax, to be applied to the payment of the compensation of teachers employed in the common schools, is in conflict with the Constitution and void," citing former opinion to the effect that "taxes for tuition must be levied by the Legislature, and that the authority to levy them can not be delegated to the local school corporations of the State."

The injunction was granted, and the case appealed to the Supreme Court, where, June 18, 1885,* Judge Elliott, presiding, overruled the finding of the lower Court, holding the section to be constitutional. The "opinion" is an elaborate and able one, citing the frequent reversals of the former judgment in the intervening years, the regenerative policy of the State, and its evident recognition of the spirit of the Constitution, and holds that "the provisions that the Legislature shall provide by law for a general and uniform system of common schools does not mean that the Legislature must directly and by a statute levy all taxes for each locality, nor that it shall prescribe rules for every school district of the State. The reasonable interpretation of this language is that the Legislature shall, by a general law, provide for conducting schools and securing revenues from taxation, for their support through the instrumentalities of government"; such instrumentalities it explained as townships, towns, and cities. "If the local authorities," it continued, "may be invested with authority to levy taxes to build school-houses, then it must also be true that they may be invested with authority to levy taxes to employ teachers; for it is not possible to make any distinction between the right to employ persons to impart instruction to the pupils and the

* 102 Indiana, p. 807.

right to provide places where the instruction shall be imparted."

The law was therefore held to be constitutional, and local assessments a legitimate source of revenue for extending the school term. The victory was a great one and complete.

In 1857, referring to the recent decisions of the Supreme Court, Superintendent Larrabee had said: * "These decisions settle beyond all question the meaning of the Constitution on the points involved. No rehearing before the same court, or ruling of any new court, will ever reverse these decisions, for they are unquestionably fortified by the principles and authorities which can not be successfully controverted."

But thirty years span most of a generation; and a generation of intelligent, determined men may accomplish much. The old decisions were long ago reversed in the public mind. The "bench" only formulated the "opinion." Nobody today, perhaps, seriously questions the right or the wisdom of such local taxes. An educated sentiment vitalizes the need and erects it into an institution. What was held to be impossible by Superintendent Larrabee is a common possession now. The public is rapidly coming to understand that while the State may set a minimum length of term, and (perhaps) a maximum local levy, the State system is stable only as it is supported by an intelligent community interest, ready to assume the responsibility.

4. *Education of Negroes.*

Nominally, for the first few years of the State's educational experience, colored and white children had equal privileges in the few schools that existed. But this state of things could not long exist. Scarcely had Garrison spoken his first ringing words for freedom and right, and the "Liberator" been started, when the question was taken up in Indiana. The abolitionist found numerous friends in this Ohio

* Sixth report for 1857, p. 52.

valley; but also met enemies. And the authority which, in 1824, was so solicitous for a system of education that should guard any distinctions of class, provided, in 1837, that "the white inhabitants of each congressional township" should alone constitute the local school corporation. A petition was presented to the Legislature of 1848-'49 asking "that a reasonable share of the school fund [revenue] be appropriated to the education of the colored people of this State." But the committee to whom the petition was referred reported that "legislation upon that subject was inexpedient." Article XIII of the Constitution of 1851, prohibiting negro immigration and declaring contracts with negroes void, was adopted by a majority of 91,873 in a total vote of 135,783. Further than this, up to 1852 no account was taken of the negro population of the State in their school or other relations. In the revised law of that year it was required that trustees should "establish and conveniently locate in each township a sufficient number of schools for the education of the children therein." This was amended March 4, 1853, by the provision that "in all enumerations the children of negroes and mulattoes should be omitted," and further that the property of negroes and mulattoes should not be taxed for school purposes, nor should any "negro or mulatto derive any of the benefits of the common schools of this State." This provision had really been incorporated in the former law, but was omitted through official oversight. A resolution of the House, instructing the educational committee to report provisions for the establishment of schools for the education of the negro children of the State, was overwhelmingly defeated. And the committee of March, 1853, explained and justified its action by saying it was held to be "better for the weaker party that no privilege be extended to them, the tendency of which might be to induce the vain belief that the prejudices of the dominant race could ever be so mollified as to break down the rugged barriers that must forever exist between their social relations." The same spirit appeared even among those who urged the education of the negro, one

reason assigned being that by thus "elevating him in the scale of being" the "sense of his own degradation would be keener," and so "the greater his anxiety to seek another country, where, with the spirit of a man," he might "breathe the fresh air of social as well as political liberty!"

In such condition the negro in Indiana remained for sixteen years longer. Both the justice and expediency of the State's attitude were repeatedly questioned during the intervening years, and especially in the shadow of the great civil war. Philanthropy's deed had frequent record in behalf of the colored child. There were schools in the State for his education, but they were private or managed as missions. The negro had yet no part in the State's beneficence. In August, 1866, in the midst of the national contest over the Fourteenth Amendment, and but two years before it became a part of the Federal Constitution, the school examiners of Indiana, in convention assembled, resolved upon extending the requirements and benefits of the school system to the colored people of the State. Superintendent Hoss, in his official report of that year, argued the case strongly, and insisted that not only the needs of citizenship but the claims of humanity required that the State should provide equal facilities for the schooling of both negroes and whites.

Two years following, State Superintendent Hobbs included in his report letters from the school superintendents of thirteen Northern States, in all of which, Illinois excepted, colored children were admitted to schools on the same terms as applied to white children. Maine, New Hampshire, and Connecticut made no reports. The showing was strongly in favor of concessive legislation in Indiana. Favorable sentiment was growing.

Accordingly, May 13, 1869, there was passed by the General Assembly "An act to render taxation for common-school purposes uniform, and to provide for the education of the colored children of the State." These were to be organized, if possible, into separate schools, or in some other way to be provided with such "means of education for said children as

shall use their proportion, according to numbers, of school revenue to the best advantage." Eight years later it was required "that in case there may not be provided separate schools for colored children, then such colored children shall be allowed to attend the public schools with white children," with all the privileges of promotion and secondary or higher instruction. This marked a real and significant advance, and fixed a standard of administration of schools that still obtains.

In 1876 there were enumerated 10,261 colored children. Sixty-eight per cent were enrolled in public schools. Twelve years later the school census had increased to 17,750, and the enrollments to 8,498, or less than 48 per cent. There are now (1890) something more than 150 schools, with 20,000 pupils, generally under the control of colored teachers. Most of them are found in cities or towns.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LAW OF 1873.

AFTER the re-enactment of the local tuition tax law in 1867, the most notable legislation of recent years in Indiana was what is known as the County Superintendency Law of 1873.

There had been county school officers of some sort throughout most of the history of the State, but they were chiefly prudential and managed the lands and school moneys, as did the school commissioners; or examined teachers, and had no other duties, as the earliest examiners, or added to this a somewhat voluntary and limited supervisory control of schools, as obtained under the revised law of 1852. County control of schools had already a long standing; the law of 1873 sought to give to the more professional services of the superintendent a legal sanction. The

evolution of this larger function constitutes an interesting bit of our educational history. The school commissioner-ship was abolished by the law of 1849, and the duties of the office required to be performed in part by the county auditor, or in some counties by the clerk, and in part by the treasurer. Even after this, however, the office was continued in those counties that refused to accept the law of 1849, a condition of affairs that applied to nearly one third of the State.

This act made no mention of the examination of teachers other than requiring schools to be taught in each township "by legally qualified teachers for at least three months in each year." Under this law, therefore, the act of 1837 concerning examiners remained in force. These—three in each county—were appointed by the Circuit Court, and held office "until others were appointed in their places."

The office was not an onerous one, and was rarely filled by persons appointed for their fitness, sometimes by teachers or ex-teachers, generally by professional or tradesmen, often in a perfunctory way. The law required only that they should "examine such persons as should apply for that purpose, and certify what branches they were qualified to teach."

With persons of different degrees of attainment and experience, each operating independently of the others, there was not possible any uniform standard of examination. "He who was most lenient and superficial was most patronized. A teacher failing to pass with one examiner frequently applied to another and received license." In no respect does a system show itself weaker than in the careless or indiscriminate selection of teachers. Good schools mean good teachers. This requires a wise and critical sifting of applicants, in which sifting most laws fail, notably the earlier ones.

By the provisions of the new law of 1852 the proper certifying of teachers was made a part of the duty of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, "by himself or deputy." Of deputies the law, parenthetically, authorizes the superin-

tendent "to appoint one in each county." A few such officers were so appointed under this statute, but almost immediately their appointment was intrusted to the commissioners in each county, and the teachers' examinations were little more satisfactory than they had been twenty years before. In 1856 Superintendent Mills recommended the appointment of three examiners in each county—one each year for three years—and said "such board should hold stated meetings give due notice of time and place, and issue licenses only as a board, and on the basis of a formal examination." This would have been a great advance, but nothing came of it then.

Already, in 1859, it was becoming recognized that there were certain school functions, both supervisory and administrative, that were not being performed by any existing officer. In the words of Superintendent Rugg, in the existing system there was "a gap in the supervision of its interests and affairs which, if properly filled up, would contribute much to facilitate its workings and assist in its administration." He therefore recommended that the examiners, not the auditor, be held responsible for the annual school reports. They should "visit and inspect the schools of their respective counties," looking to "greater uniformity in their organization and management," and "conformity to lawful regulations, and the approved and successful methods of imparting instruction." They should have charge of teachers' institutes, examine and license teachers, direct the management of the township libraries, and receive the reports from township trustees, forwarding to the State office.

This all suggested an integration of the school system such as Indiana had not yet known. It meant centralization, closer supervision, or rather supervision where had been none. It demanded one system, not many. These results, most of which have since been incorporated into our school organization, were not reached at once, or without opposition. Mr. Rugg saw well into the future. Supervision, as the chief function of the county school officer, was

given large legal recognition only in 1873—a full generation after its first recommendation.

But in 1861 the former law was so modified as to substitute one examiner in each county for the three which had been. He was appointed by the board of county commissioners for a term of three years; all examinations were required to be public, the granting of a license upon private examination being prohibited. A fee of one dollar was allowed for each applicant, which constituted the only official compensation. In addition to these duties the examiner was required to make annual reports to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, including the school census, and other statistics made up from the trustees' reports, and similar reports to the county auditor, showing the basis of the apportionment of school revenue to the several townships, towns, and cities of the county.

But the greatest advance appeared in the provision that "said examiner shall constitute a medium of communication between the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the subordinate school officers and schools; they shall visit the schools of their respective counties as often as they may deem it necessary, during each term, for the purpose of increasing their usefulness, and elevating as far as practicable the poorer schools to the standard of the best; advising and securing, as far as practicable, uniformity in their organization and management, and their conformity to the law and the regulations and instructions of the State Board of Education and Superintendent of Public Instruction, and shall encourage teachers' institutes and associations. They shall receive from the trustees their reports of enumeration, and their regular school and other reports, which are required by law to be made by them, and otherwise gather up the necessary data and information, including that relative to private schools, high schools, colleges, and other private institutions of learning within their respective counties, so as to present a view of the educational facilities of the State, and enable them to make full and complete reports to the

Superintendent of Public Instruction; and receive for, and distribute to, the township libraries such books as may be furnished for them, and advise such a disposition and use of them as will tend to increase their usefulness; and advise the trustee as to the most approved school furniture, apparatus, and educational agencies."

Here was opportunity for large service to the schools. The office was immeasurably dignified by this bit of legislative confidence. The clerk was made also inspector and counselor. The trust was more than a civil office; it took on semi-professional aspects and functions. The examiner had new need to be a teacher and an educational leader. And such men were found. In the list of school examiners for 1865 and 1866, under Hoss, were such men as H. M. Shockley, of Henry County; D. D. Banta, of Johnson; W. W. Cheshire, of Lake; Pleasant Bond, of Marion; B. W. Smith, of Porter; Murry Briggs, of Sullivan; H. S. McRae, of Switzerland; J. M. Olcott, of Vigo; Rufus Patch, of La Grange; and Jesse H. Brown, of Wayne—all of them practical and efficient school men, not only of that day, but for many years afterward. A little later perhaps, but in the same period, the official list includes the names of James H. Smart, A. E. Buckley, A. C. Goodwin, Clarkson Davis, Rawson Vaile, William A. Bell, and others almost equally well known.

These were men that were more than examiners. Themselves teachers, they knew how to make inspection of their schools profitable. It was a service that made the later revision of the law and an extension of the examiners' functions possible.

For this added duty of supervision the examiner was to be paid three dollars a day for all the time actually employed in the discharge of his functions, the board of commissioners to determine the number of days in each year in which he might be so engaged.

Very generally and fairly this duty was performed. In the best counties the examiner was an inspector, visiting each

school at least once yearly. Meetings of the trustees were called in several counties, and the larger good accomplished that comes from wise co-operation. Occasionally the examiner was himself a teacher, being regularly employed, and so accomplished little or nothing in the way of visiting schools. Great good, however, had already resulted from the single officer in each county. The examinations were fairer; the grade of teachers had been improved; better texts were used; trustees showed a more intelligent interest in the schools; institutes grew in favor, the State's knowledge of her system through statistical reports became more complete and trustworthy, and altogether the office had more than justified its existence. But the feeling grew that the good of the schools required a better and larger service than was possible under the administration of the examiner, at three dollars a day, and hedged by the numerous limitations incident to the varying policy of the local boards of commissioners, and the negative constitution of the office. Superintendent Hobbs (1868) held that "to be able to judge of the practical qualities of teachers the examiners should spend enough time with them in their schools to know that their work is professionally done;" and that "the entire time of one man is not too much for the work demanded in a majority of the counties."

November 6, 1862, at the call of Superintendent Hoshour, the examiners met in convention at Indianapolis, discussing, with profit to themselves and the schools, the qualifications of teachers, modes and conditions of examinations, school visits, reports, etc. It was evident that, however well the work might be done in particular counties, it was badly done or not at all in others; and, in the best event, without the shadow of uniformity as to the aims of the office, or the legal or moral means for their accomplishment. There was no concert of effort, and no unity of official sentiment that gave large promise of better things. The only agreement was as to the necessity of more definite requirements and some positive authority in the hands of the county school

control. For the next ten years, from this and subsequent examiners' meetings, from township associations, county institutes, the State Teachers' Association, State Board of Education, the trustees and faculty of the State Normal School, and from prominent teachers and officials throughout the State, the demand was specific for a law that should "expand the powers, duties, compensation, and even the name of the county examiner, to those of County Superintendent."

It was therefore recommended by Superintendent Hopkins, in his first report,* that the office of School Examiner be abolished, and that of County Superintendent be created; that the County Superintendent be a practical teacher; that he have the general superintendence of the schools of the county, and visit each school at least once each year; that he have an office furnished him at the county seat; that he be required to examine the official dockets, records, books, papers, and accounts of the justices of the peace, clerk of the court, auditor, and commissioners, and see that all fines, forfeitures, and liquor licenses, etc., are promptly collected and paid over; and that he, together with the township trustees, and the school trustees of cities and towns, should constitute a County Board of Education, which should consider the general wants and needs of the school and school property of the county, and of which the superintendent should be *ex officio* president.

1. *County Superintendency.*

In accordance with these recommendations, and in harmony with the educated public sentiment, the act of 1873 (March 8th), since known as the "County Superintendency Law," was passed. It was a great step forward; not so much for what it did radically as what it made possible; not because of any marked change of system, as the chance of improvement in its administration. In the words of Dr. Smart: "The act did not create a new office, as many have

* Sixth Biennial Report, 1872, p. 153.

supposed, but merely enlarged the powers of an old officer and changed his title. The County Examiner was a county superintendent, in fact. The County Superintendent examines and licenses teachers; so did the examiner. The superintendent makes certain reports to the county auditor and to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction; so did the examiner. The superintendent visits the schools of the county; so did the examiner; the superintendent holds county institutes; so did the examiner. The truth is that we have had * county superintendency in Indiana for more than twenty-five years, the chief difference between the present and the former system being that the one provides for an efficient supervision, while the other did not."

The really new features of the law are those that made visitation of schools obligatory, the organization and, as far as possible, the personal direction of the township institutes by the superintendent, the examination of official records for the possession or recovery of school moneys, and a closer connection with the internal administration of the schools.

The superintendent's compensation was fixed at four dollars per day for time actually employed, the number of days in the year to be fixed by the commissioners, but not to be less than one day for each school in the county. His election is by the township trustees, on the first Monday in June in each odd year, since 1873. The only requirements as to qualification are that he must be an elector of the county, and have been a resident therein for not less than one year. Women have been held not eligible to the office. As early as June, 1875, the commissioners in Lake County appointed Mrs. B. B. Cheshire to the position; but the day following, upon the opinion of the Attorney-General, reconsidered their action, and elected Mr. J. M. McAfee instead. Occasionally in other counties the policy has been attempted, but never fully inaugurated.†

* December, 1876. See Eighth Biennial Report, p. 91.

† See section 4540 of School Law, 1885.

The County Superintendent has general charge of the schools of his county, except over cities employing their own superintendent. He examines all teachers both in cities and rural districts. He presides at meetings of the County Board of Education; directs the holding of township and county institutes; hears appeals from local officers; advises concerning the course of study; inspects the school fund and revenue accounts of his county; and makes all official reports to the State Superintendent from his county except the purely financial ones.

What the contemporary rural school is in Indiana is very largely dependent upon the county superintendency, and the system and administration incident thereto. The office is a responsible one. It should be filled by capable persons only and be fairly independent, as are other county offices, in its own affairs. The county superintendency is generally and very fairly regarded, not in Indiana alone, but elsewhere, as a fundamental factor in the maintenance of any State system. To the end that his administration be accorded the respect his office deserves, he has need to be a man of large and general education. The rural schools, whose representative he is before the people, are entitled to the most scholarly service which the public purse can afford. No half-educated school-boy or unread teacher, or provincial experience, should be intrusted with this responsible duty of directing even the most elementary instruction in the people's school. If the room-teacher is to be held to minimum requirements as to scholarship, much more should the superintendent. A liberal academic standard should be established and insisted upon.

But in the office of school inspector there must be more than scholarship. The system and organization, the compactness and uniformity, made possible by this centralization of authority, are only evil unless rationalized by a sound professional insight and clear notions of the means and ends of education. As it would be absurd to choose a superintendent of a factory, a foreman of a shop, a manager of a

railroad, or a commissioner of streets, because he chanced to be a Scotchman, a sectarian, a Turk, or a Knight of Labor, regardless of his knowledge of the industries represented in the factory, the shop, the railroad, or the making of highways, so it is equally irrational to limit the selection of overseers of schools and teaching to electors careless of their knowledge of, or even interest in, either schools or teaching.

But more than this, the results of the system in Indiana, as in every other State, show that, besides having general scholarship and special insight, both of which in a way may go along with the mere student and recluse, the superintendent has need to be a teacher. School-room experience would seem to be indispensable. Intelligently to criticise a lesson, or an instance of discipline, a working programme, or a course of study, questions of management, neighborhood factions, school methods, or educational doctrine, it is needed that one be able to look at them and handle them, each and all, from the point of view of the school-room, in the presence of its limitations, and with its more or less narrow but very definite outlook.

Another lesson clearly taught by the experience of twenty years in Indiana is the need of a larger tenure of office, the security of longer administrations. Doubtless a rigid insistence upon the higher standard of qualifications, and reasonable pay for the better service, would easily accomplish these results and more. It is believed that the experiment is worth trying; and the interests of the schools, it would seem, demand a movement to this end. For eighteen years the average length of service in this office has been less than four years. Better a longer term with fair qualifications and skill than the constantly changing policy characterizing some counties. In a dozen counties the average length of service has been something more than eleven years, varying from four to eight terms. Of course, in a large majority of the remaining counties the single term fully measures the length of each administration.

But, despite the disadvantage incident to the office and the mode of election, the insufficient pay and a partial recognition, the lack of professional standards, and the hindrance of occasional local antagonisms, the office has accomplished much for the Indiana rural school. And the efficiency of Indiana's country school system is the pride of the State, educationally. For bringing about a large share of this improvement the county superintendency must be credited.

2. The County Board of Education.

The last-mentioned act—the County Superintendency Law of 1873—provided also for a County Board of Education.

As has been suggested already, in all the earlier history of the system the only approach to a county organization was in the existence of a Board of School Commissioners, whose functions, however, were purely prudential, or the three examiners, with specific and limited duties; neither having at first any administrative authority; the former being abolished in 1849, and the latter in 1861, giving way by law to a single examiner, whose functions were at best only incidentally administrative.

Prior to 1873, therefore, the organization of the schools only escaped the charge of being a district system by following a quasi township policy. The control was local and lacking in unity. In 1854, with 91 counties, the organization was cut up into 95 cities and towns and 938 townships; or 1,033 independent school corporations. The number had increased to 1,101 in 1865. The act of 1873, however, not only required that the several schools of a given township should constitute one system, but that the trustees of all the townships in any county should co-operate in certain matters, using common means to a common end. The board is composed of the County Superintendent, the trustees of the townships, and the chairman of the school trustees of each town and city of the county, who meet semi-annually to "consider the general wants and needs of the schools and school property of which they have charge, and all matters relating

to the purchase of school furniture, books, maps, charts, etc."*

The authority of the board is a form of centralization that has had in Indiana a wholesome influence. While offering no sort of interference with the fundamental privileges of the localities, it affords an economical means of administering the system, with the privileges that accrue from conference and co-operation, and in the interests of a larger public.

The board may adopt a course of study for the district schools, and in most counties this has been done. It has no power, however, to make contracts; it has no control of revenues, nor power to order expenditures. Here it can only advise and counsel. Its large service to the schools of the county has been in the free conference and voluntary concert of action; in regulating the standard of examination of teachers; in the gradation of schools, the classification and promotion of pupils, and in the mutual suggestion and re-enforcement that come from intelligent conference and joint deliberation. What the township control is to the system the County Superintendent and the County Board are in the administration of the system. From their conferences have come enlarged salaries, longer school terms, selective employment of teachers, an integration of the system, and a general public confidence in the common schools of hopeful promise for the future. Of course, whatever objections lie against the theory or workings of the township trusteeship apply with a like force to the board which the trustees jointly compose.

* This responsibility of selecting books was withdrawn from the board by the act of 1889, providing for State uniformity.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM.

I. STATE CONTROL.

STATE control of education in most States takes on two forms: The one, looking to an official management of the system, gathers statistics, keeps the books, apportions the funds, and in general represents the State. The officer is variously named in different States, but was first called in Indiana the Superintendent of Common Schools, and later, as now, the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The other form looks, in general, to a closer connection with the working of the schools, supervises courses of study, advises concerning textbooks, gradation, graduation, etc., regulates the State-certifying of teachers, and operates to unify the several otherwise unrelated institutions under their control into a common organization. This latter function is generally fixed in a State board, variously constituted, and unequally efficient, now of broader now narrower sphere, and, in some States, wholly wanting, the duties devolving upon the State Superintendent. In most States the board was introduced along with a developed system. Indiana had a "Superintendent of Common Schools" in the Treasurer of State for ten years prior to the creation of a State board. Each of the forty-four States has such an officer, though variously named. In twenty-three the title is the same as in Indiana. In two States—Connecticut and Massachusetts—he is known by the name of and serves as the secretary of the State Board of Education; in one—Delaware—as the president of the State Board of Education; and in one—West Virginia—as the State Superintendent of Free Schools; apparently a victorious remnant of the old conflict between "Free" and "Tuition" schools.

1. *The Superintendent of Common Schools.*

By the law of 1843 the Treasurer of State was declared to be *ex officio* Superintendent of Common Schools, and required to prepare annually and submit to the General Assembly a report setting forth the condition and amount of funds and property devoted to education; the condition of colleges and academies, county seminaries, common schools, both public and private; estimates and accounts of school expenditures, and "plans for the management and improvement of the Common School Fund, and for the better organization of the common schools."

These duties were put upon the treasurer not because he was supposed to have any special fitness for their performance, but (1) because, for the time, the chief interest of education centered in the preservation and management of the school fund; (2) because all civil educational agencies were yet but imperfectly differentiated from the older administrative machinery, and the treasurer was the most available official to accomplish the ends in view. The like policy had been, and was then to be, found in other States. The new function must work out its own adapted organization—a task it took years to accomplish.

The State treasurers acting as Superintendent of Common Schools were: George H. Dunn, 1841 to 1844;* Royal Mayhew, 1844 to 1847; Samuel Hannah, 1847 to 1850; James P. Drake, 1850 to 1853.

Nine reports were issued, chiefly financial and statistical, in the years from 1843 to 1851, inclusive, and may be found in the regular reports of the State treasurer, or, except the sixth (for 1848), in the documentary journals for the same period. They are interesting relics of an early attempt at a State system of schools.

While the law gave the superintendent power to require of county auditors, school commissioners, and township and district officials full information in relation to the duties of

* Full official term as treasurer.

their respective offices, the condition of funds and properties, and the management of schools, the actual reports are very meager and unsatisfactory, and reveal little of the state of education throughout the most critical period in Indiana history.

The machinery of the system was such as to make the gathering of accurate statistics impossible. There was so little uniformity in the various counties, and even townships, with reference to school affairs, that statistics, if had, would have served no useful purpose. And, lastly, the oversight of schools was supplemental to the legitimate interests of the Treasurer of State, an incident of the office, foreign to its accustomed administration, and so, naturally perhaps, neglected. Nevertheless, the duties were in general honestly performed, and as efficiently as in other States whose existing civil officers were intrusted with the like responsibility.

2. Superintendent of Public Instruction.

By the school law of 1852 the State treasurer's official connection with the schools was severed by the provisions of sections 71 to 85, for the election by the qualified voters of the State, at the general election, of a "State Superintendent of Public Instruction, who shall hold his office for two years."

This superintendent was required to spend each term at least ten days in each of the ten judicial circuits; to recommend a list of books, and superintend the purchase and distribution of the township libraries; to determine appeals from township trustees, have a watchful care of the educational funds, to prepare all blank forms for his office, and receive reports from county auditors and treasurers, and township trustees and clerks; make a report to the General Assembly when in session, and to the Governor on intervening years; either by himself or deputy to examine all applicants for license, to preside at all meetings of the State Board of Education, and to deliver an address to the board upon his induction into office, "setting forth his views of the

best method of giving efficiency to our educational system, with such suggestions as he may deem worthy of their consideration"—all for thirteen hundred dollars, and a possible clerk for not more than six months each year at two dollars a day.

Much of this paragraph, fixing the duties of the superintendent, is significant only when it is remembered that for thirteen years he was the one professional member of the board—the others being State officers, and members *ex officio* only. The function of the board was rather advisory; the insight into schools, the management of details, and the final interpretation lay with the superintendent. It was a responsible position and generally ably filled.

Below is given a table of the superintendents in order of time to the present, with the times of beginning and closing of each term:

List of Superintendents of Public Instruction.

NAMES.	Beginning of term.	Close of term.	
William Clark Larrabee.....	Nov. 8, 1852.	Nov. 8, 1854.	Term expired.
Caleb Mills.....	Nov. 8, 1854.	Feb. 10, 1857.	" "
William Clark Larrabee.....	Feb. 10, 1857.	Feb. 10, 1859.	Died in May, 1859.
Samuel Lyman Rugg.....	Feb. 10, 1859.	Feb. 10, 1861.	Term expired.
Miles Johnson Fletcher.....	Feb. 10, 1861.	May 11, 1862.	Killed on R.R.
Samuel Kleinfelder Hoshour..	May 15, 1862.	Nov. 25, 1862.	Resigned.
Samuel Lyman Rugg.....	Nov. 25, 1862.	Mar. 15, 1865.	Term expired.
George Washington Hoss.....	Mar. 15, 1865.	Oct. 18, 1868.	Resigned.
Barnabas Coffin Hobbs.....	Oct. 18, 1868.	Mar. 15, 1871.	Term expired.
Milton Bledsoe Hopkins.....	Mar. 15, 1871.	Aug. 16, 1874.	Died Aug. 16, 1874.
Alexander Campbell Hopkins.	Aug. 16, 1874.	Mar. 15, 1875.	Term expired.
James Henry Smart.....	Mar. 15, 1875.	Mar. 15, 1881.	" "
John McKnight Bloss.....	Mar. 15, 1881.	Mar. 15, 1883.	" "
John Walker Holcomb.....	Mar. 15, 1883.	Mar. 15, 1887.	" "
Harvey Marion La Follette....	Mar. 15, 1887.	Mar. 15, 1891.	" "
Hervey Daniel Vories.....	Mar. 15, 1891.		

Of the superintendents who held the office not too much praise can be spoken. They were generally scholarly and efficient.

Larrabee organized the system and rendered a large service, the credit for which is greatly magnified when it is remembered as a pioneer work not for Indiana alone but for most of the West. Mills was the leading influence in the selection of books and their purchase and distribution to townships as school libraries. Rugg made a thorough official inspection of, and established, the State school finances, and made the Indiana School Journal the official organ of the department. Fletcher improved the institutes and corrected the anticipation of revenues. Hoshour called the first convention of examiners and used his influence, official and personal, to secure the selection of a larger proportion of women as teachers. Hoss, either directly or indirectly, secured the addition of history and physiology to the list of common school branches, State aid to county institutes, the replenishment of township libraries, the incorporation of the State Normal School, and the re-enactment of the law allowing local taxation in cities and townships for tuition purposes. During this administration, also, the adoption of school texts was put into the hands of the township trustees, and the State board relieved of the duty. Under Hobbs, instruction in German was made optional in the public schools, an act for the education of negroes was passed, the girls' reformatory was planned, and Purdue University founded. Hopkins was chiefly instrumental in the establishment of the county superintendency, in reforming the examinations of teachers, in reclaiming considerable sums of school moneys, and balancing the State's school finances. Smart, besides a large service to the schools of the State in a wise direction of legislation and an integration of the system, made Indiana known, and honorably known, among the States of the Union and among foreign states, through the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, in 1876, and the World's Fair at Paris, two years later. Besides these and other services incident to the administration of the office, Mr. Smart began during his term and completed the year following the codification of the School Laws of the State

(1881), under twenty-four sections, with full and helpful comments, and covering more than two hundred pages. Bloss revised the clerical and statistical work of the office, reformed the school census, and effectually broke up a most scandalous traffic in examination questions.* Holcomb was instrumental in putting into execution a uniform course of study for the country schools, and a plan of graduation from them, Arbor-day celebrations, and the State Reading Circle for teachers. La Follette is to be credited with an inspection of records, and a correction of errors in the distribution of school revenues, amounting since 1860 to \$150,000, and an addition to the school fund of not less than \$400,000; a constant and effective official, encouragement given to the reading circle making it, as but for this official recognition it could not have been, not only the most successful teachers' reading circle in any of the States, but one of the most fruitful agencies for the improvement of teachers in Indiana.

Of course, it must be remembered that throughout the period, and particularly after its reorganization in 1865, the influence of the State Board permeated and re-enforced and assisted in shaping all that was undertaken or accomplished by the superintendent. It is perhaps true that, relatively, the superintendent has less influence now than formerly, and the board, as an organization of which he is chairman, more. He becomes the responsible exponent of the consensus of the board's deliberations—the executive of their will. Nevertheless, there are certain duties for the faithful performance of which he is practically held responsible. Some of them are clerical, and, unfortunately, consume a great part of his time. They are many and exacting; they have been called onerous. A mere mention of the annual routine will justify the statement.

It includes the receiving and inspection of the school census; the county auditors' reports of the local taxes and the interest on the common-school funds held by the coun-

* See State Report, 1882, Part I, pp. 40-43.

ties; a record of the regular and acting county superintendents and trustees throughout the State; the number and conditions of local certificates granted to teachers; the adjustment of the congressional township funds when two or more counties are concerned; the amount of funds on loan in the counties, the condition of the loans, and the additions made to the funds; settlements with counties as to the interest on school funds; the auditing and summarizing of the county superintendents' statistical reports; the semi-annual apportionment of school revenues; and comparison of the county auditors' semi-annual reports of the distribution of these and local taxes.

Besides this, there are involved the official correspondence of the office touching the interpretation of the school law; letters of advice and official direction; the hearing of appeals from county superintendents; visits to teachers' gatherings and school officials, and for the examination of school records; reports to the Legislature and to the Governor; the delivery of examination questions to the county superintendents monthly; the preparation of all needed blank forms, and the publication and distribution of the school law; while *ex officio* chairman of the county superintendents' annual convention, director of the Reading Circle Board, trustee of the State Normal School, and president of the State Board of Education.

In short, the duties of the office involve an oversight of, and more or less responsibility for, the enumeration of children throughout the State; all statistics concerning teachers and school officers employed, the permanent school funds and their safe investment, the receipts and disbursements of school revenues, and the careful auditing of all reports of subordinate officers.

One of the important services of the superintendent mentioned is the occasional issuance of the school law, with official interpretations. This seems deserving of extended mention.

3. School Law and Commentaries.

Eleven editions of the school law have been issued since the revision of the system in 1852. This is exclusive of the various laws published prior to that date, and which may be found only in the Revised Statutes, the documentary journals, or special issues.

The law of 1837, entitled "An act incorporating congressional townships, and providing for public schools therein," was published separately from the general acts, by William J. Brown, Secretary of State, immediately after its passage, and by authority.

The Revised Statutes of 1843 included all school legislation then in force, in Chapter XV, Of Common Schools, revised by the compilers, Samuel Bigger and George H. Dunn, and adopted by the Legislature, as codified, in 1843. These two documents are historically valuable for comparison with the more modern and greatly complicated system of laws of the last twenty years.

The law of 1852 was originally published by authority as a separate document, as was the act of 1837, but appeared also in the Revised Statutes of 1852, as Chapter XCVIII. The year following, however, May 1, 1853, there was issued from the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction its first official edition of the School Law of the State of Indiana, with explanations, instructions, and forms of proceeding, including the original acts of 1852, and the amendments thereto by the Legislature, March 4, 1853. The publication was under the authority of Superintendent Larrabee, and included in an appendix the report in full of Hon. John C. Walker, Chairman of the House Committee on Education, in submitting the proposed amendments, forms of bonds, a system of book-keeping, blank orders, notices, reports, licenses and instructions concerning the school census, besides answers to a score of questions, by way of interpreting the law. It is a valuable piece of documentary literature.

Prof. Mills issued a second edition in May, 1855, with helpful notes and suggestions, and the amendments just

passed. The third, by Superintendent Larrabee, in addition to the usual matter, presented an unabridged transcript of the six decisions of the Supreme Court, then and since, so important in their relation to the schools, touching the consolidation of funds, the levying of local taxes, and the equalization of revenues. It was a bit of official policy, wisely conceived and admirably carried out, that did much to familiarize the people, and especially school officers, with the actual condition of school affairs, and the nature of the system, at the most critical period in our educational history. Mr. Fletcher published an edition also, the fourth, in 1861, with notes, very full and clear, a reprint of the essentials of the Supreme Court decisions, and a full list of the text-books recommended to the schools by the State Department.

Superintendent Hoss, in his term of three years and a half, published two editions—one in 1865, and another, the sixth, in 1867. This latter included Article VIII of the Constitution on education, and foot-notes explanatory of almost every section of the law about which there could be any question. It was, without doubt, the most helpful edition of the law that had yet been published, and the most provocative of interest in the system.

From 1852, for twenty-five years, the great educational need of the State was that the public—the official and citizen public—should be brought to know the system, to be informed of their duties and privileges, to understand the real purpose of the school, and the possible large service it was fitted to render to the individual and the home and the institution. To this end it was desirable that every means should be employed to set the school and its organization rightly before the people. Such commentaries as Larrabee's, and those by Hoss twenty years later, accomplished this in a very effective way.

The seventh issue was by Superintendent Hobbs in 1869, and the eighth by his successor, Mr. Hopkins, in 1873. The Legislature of this year had made some important changes in the law, and the commentary was made not only to in-

clude the former law and these amendments, but such an arrangement of them all from 1865 as to hint at a history of the system and the lines of its development which, with numerous opinions and decisions, did much to establish the new law and secure it public confidence.

In 1877 Superintendent Smart published the ninth edition of the law, whose annotation comprised, besides the official opinions of the department, abstracts of seventeen recent Supreme Court decisions concerning schools and schooling for negroes in the State, the rights of teachers, the relations of civil and congressional townships, the anticipations of school revenues, corporal punishment, etc. The tenth edition was by Superintendent Holcomb, and was issued in 1885. It presents in compact form, along with current notes and opinions, extracts, also, explanatory of various sections taken from former editions of the law, and the accepted decisions of the office. The eleventh and last issue was by Superintendent La Follette, in 1889, adding to the tenth issue certain decisions of the department and recent modification of the law.

By an act of the Legislature, March 28, 1879, there was created the Board of Revision of the Laws, by which acts relating to the common schools, the State University, the Normal School, and Purdue University were codified, and appear as Chapters LII, LIII, LIV, and LV of the Revised Statutes of 1881. This, however, was simply a copy of the laws in force, was given without note or comment, and, having no official connection with the department, it is inserted here only to make the list of the school-law publications complete.

Two years prior to this last act it had been ordered by a resolution of the Indiana House of Representatives "That the State Superintendent of Public Instruction be and the same is hereby instructed to codify the school laws of the State, with such alterations and amendments as will make the laws harmonious and compact, and report the same to the House of Representatives at the meeting of the next General

Assembly, provided the same shall be done without cost to the State." The work was undertaken by State Superintendent Smart, and two years later the revision was submitted to the House. After numerous amendments and some revisions it was finally passed, and approved as the school law of the State, March, 1879. In the process of revision there was "brought together," as Dr. Smart says, "a large mass of valuable information in regard to school law and the common-law principles, which have been promulgated by the courts in relation thereto," which was published in 1881 by the author as a *Commentary on the School Law of Indiana*.*

This *Commentary* is a valuable treatise of more than two hundred pages on the school system of Indiana, comprising, besides the law (so much of it as bears upon the points discussed), the decisions of the Supreme Court and the opinions of the Attorney-General, citations from the bench in other States, abundant references to other parts of the statutes, and to former opinions of the department. The work presents only such portions of the laws as pertain to the duties of school officers and teachers, carefully analyzed and arranged in topics as follows:

- (1) County superintendents, their appointment and duties;
- (2) the appointment and qualification of school trustees;
- (3) penalties and liabilities of school officers and school corporations;
- (4) school revenues, financial accounts, and reports;
- (5) on the levying of school taxes;
- (6) the location of schools;
- (7) township graded schools, and joint district and graded schools;
- (8) school meetings and school directors;
- (9) construction of school-houses;
- (10) school apparatus;
- (11) care of school property;
- (12) County Board of Education;
- (13) rules and regulations, and their enforcement;
- (14) the employment of teachers in townships;
- (15) dismissal of teachers in townships;
- (16) teachers in towns and cities;
- (17) the law of appeal;
- (18) the law of contracts;
- (19) the law of enumera-

* William B. Burford, 1881, Indianapolis.

tion; (20) the law of transfer; (21) township school property within towns and cities; (22) township libraries.

Of the thirteen men who have held this highest educational office of the State,* four only—Fletcher, Hobbs, Bloss, and Holcomb—were natives of Indiana. Larrabee was from Maine, Mills and Smart from New Hampshire, Rugg from New York, Hoshour from Pennsylvania, Hoss from Ohio, Hopkins from Kentucky, and La Follette from Wisconsin. With all but two, teaching had been a profession, Rugg only having never taught. Eight of them were regular college graduates, representing Bowdoin, Dartmouth, Brown, Indiana, Asbury, Hanover, Harvard, and the College of France. Two—Hoshour and Hobbs—had taken partial courses, while Superintendents Rugg and Hopkins honored the office and the State with no more formal training than comes of a good academic course.

4. The State Board of Education.

The State Board of Education in Indiana dates from 1852. Section 147 of the act of that year provided that it should consist of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Governor, the Secretary, Treasurer, and Auditor of State, and should hold annual meetings "for the purpose of more effectually promoting the interests of education by mutual conference, interchange of views and experience of the practical operation of the system, the introduction of uniform school-books, the adoption of the most eligible means of facilitating the establishment of township school libraries, and the discussion and determination of such questions as may arise in the practical administration of the school system."

In 1855 the Attorney-General of the State was made a member of the board, the constitution of the body remaining otherwise unchanged until 1865. During all this period—thirteen years—the Superintendent of Public Instruction

* Prior to 1891.

was the only professional member, the other five (after 1855) being State officers. Of course there was ability, as there was faithful devotion to duty from all of them. Among them were men prominent in the recent convention, advocates of free schools, friends of the system, and scholarly withal—but not members of the board because of their connection with the system or familiar acquaintance with it. It had a business, not professional, constitution. Among its members, however, were included Governors Wright, Willard, and Morton, and Attorneys-General Joseph E. McDonald and Oscar B. Hord, besides John P. Dunn, Elijah Newland, Cyrus L. Dunham, John W. Dodd, Judge Morrison, and Nathaniel Cunningham. The beginnings of the system had among them and their colleagues their first direction and saving impulse. The present system is greatly indebted to their wisdom and discretion and scholarly solicitude during the first troublesome years for its possibilities.

By the act of March 6, 1865, the general school law was revised and greatly modified, and particularly the section referring to a State Board of Education. It was then provided that "The Governor of the State, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the President of the State University, the President of the State Normal School (when the same shall be established), and the superintendents of common schools of the three largest cities in the State shall constitute a board, to be denominated the Indiana State Board of Education. The size of the cities shall, for this purpose, be determined by the enumeration of children for school purposes annually reported by school examiners to the Superintendent of Public Instruction." As to its functions, the board was held to "perform such duties as are prescribed by law," to "take cognizance of such questions as may arise in the practical administration of the school system as are not otherwise provided for, and duly consider, discuss, and determine the same," and to have power to examine applicants and "grant State certificates of qualification

to teachers" found to possess "eminent scholarship and professional ability."

In 1875 the constitution of the board was again modified by adding to it as a member the President of Purdue University, just organized.*

Since 1865, therefore, during which period the really professional work of the board has been done, its membership has included the Governors of the State, and acting Governors, from Morton to Chase; Presidents Nutt (1865-1875), Moss (1875-1884), Jordan (1884-1891), and Coulter (since his election to the University presidency, June, 1891), of the State University; Presidents Jones, Brown, and Parsons, of the State Normal School; and Presidents Shortridge, White, and Smart, of Purdue University. Shortridge and Brown have also served on the board as superintendents of the Indianapolis schools, and Smart from Fort Wayne. Besides

* While it is only incidentally a matter of history, reference should be made here to yet another proposed modification of the board, by adding to it a representative of county superintendents.

After the Superintendency Law of 1878, and the creation of the County Board of Education, and through the agency of township and county institutes, and closer inspection of schools, the system in the townships was greatly improved in efficiency, and, within a decade, had become the most important and respectable educational interest in the State. It was felt that rural schools should have direct representation in the councils of the board. It had been frequently discussed in gatherings of school men, and in educational papers, but the movement first took shape in a recommendation by Superintendent Holcomb in his first report, in 1884, that three county superintendents should be elected at their annual convention to membership on the State Board, in such way that, after the first, each should hold his office for three years. The State Board of Education, also, the year following, concurred in the opinion, and recommended the change. Superintendent Holcomb again, in his second report, the Indiana School Journal, and educators generally throughout the State have repeatedly expressed their confidence in the wisdom of the recommendation. While no action has yet been taken by the Legislature, the movement would seem to be in the right direction. An educational interest that concerns three fifths of all the children of the State certainly has claims to some direct representation upon the State's Board of Control.

these, H. S. Tarbell, as superintendent of Indianapolis schools; E. S. Greene and John S. Irwin, of Fort Wayne; and E. J. Rice, Alexander M. Gow, John M. Bloss, and John Cooper, of Evansville, have all had service on the board. The present membership includes Governor Ira. J. Chase, State Superintendent H. D. Vories, Presidents John M. Coulter, J. H. Smart, and W. W. Parsons, and Superintendents L. H. Jones of Indianapolis, J. W. Layne of Evansville, and W. H. Wiley of Terre Haute.

Altogether, in its nearly forty years of history, the board has included in its membership as State superintendents, governors, civil officers of State, college presidents, and city superintendents really the best educational thought and skill of the State. The growing unification of the system through these years, the direction of legislation, the pushing of reforms, the cultivation of public sentiment, the shaping of courses of study and school-room method, the improvement of teachers, and the dignifying of the profession, are, in no small degree, due to the wise labors of the State Board of Education, and their advisory relations toward the department of supervision.

An inspection of the records of the board's proceedings shows that the wording of the law gives but meager insight into the real duties of the organization. It has been a very busy body of men. The first meeting was held June 7, 1853, and its first business was the consideration of a selection of books for the proposed township libraries. Indeed, this was the one question of constant interest to the board for the first three years of their service, and in the solution of which were spent not less than \$250,000.

Another duty that fell to the board, along with the superintendent, was the selection and recommendation to the local school officers of a series of text-books for uniform use throughout the State. The magnitude of the responsibility, and the need for wise conservative action, can be but feebly appreciated to-day, in the presence of an efficient, cheap, and abundant school-book literature, such as was un-

known a generation ago. Texts upon the most familiar subjects even were relatively few; these few were little known by most people, and less used by the school. Many of them were only the first attempts at graded texts. The law itself was an experiment. The investment of thousands of dollars was involved in the board's choice. A beginning was made (November, 1853) by the adoption of McGuffey's Eclectic Spelling Book, the Indiana Readers (I-IV),* Webster's Dictionary, Butler's Grammar, Ray's Arithmetics (I-III), and Mitchel's Geographies; to which, three years later, were added Warren's Physical Geography, Berard's School History of the United States, Payson, Dunton, and Scribner's System of Penmanship, Wilson's Elements of Punctuation, Smith's Juvenile Definer, Martin's Orthoëpist, and Brookfield's First Book in Composition. Besides these, Cowdry's Moral Lessons, and the American School Hymn-Book were recommended for use. The selection seems to have given general satisfaction. "Time," they record in their proceedings (1857), "has exhibited the wisdom of the choice. In no State of the Union have efforts for the introduction of uniform text-books for schools been so successful as in Indiana."

That the intention of the law was not to secure a uniform use of books, but only some authorized standard to guide in the local selection, appears in that this was the interpretation of the phrase by all the earlier boards and superintendents, and that in 1861 Superintendent Fletcher's notes make it mean that the board is to approve only and recommend. In the year 1859 a complete set of Goodrich's Readers, seven in number, as revised by Butler, were adopted to supplement the list of Readers previously recommended. To the list, in 1861, were added, also, texts in Algebra, Physiology, Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Book-keeping, and the Bible.

Occasional changes—additions and substitutions—were made in the next few years, presenting upon the whole a

* Compiled from the McGuffey series.

generally safe and commendable standard of common-school texts. But the law never secured uniformity, nor any satisfactory approximation to it, and in the revision of the law in 1865 the board was relieved of the responsibility. Thereafter the choice of books was in one locality left to the township trustee, elsewhere to the patrons, frequently to the teacher.* But in 1873 the responsibility was fixed by assigning it to the County Board of Education, just created. Accordingly a circular was issued by the State Board to township and city school trustees advising with them concerning their new relations to the schools, and especially in the control of the choice of text-books to be used. For sixteen years the selection was wholly in the hands of this board, the law prescribing the conditions upon which adoptions might be made. The law secured uniformity throughout the schools of each county, prevented frequent changes of books, and, in general, resulted in the selection of a superior class of books.

By the Legislature of 1889, however, the responsibility of selecting books was again put into the hands of the State Board, with whom it yet resta. This was accomplished through the creation of a Board of School-book Commissioners (the State Board of Education), upon whom was imposed the task of selecting or procuring the compilation of a series of text-books in the legal branches, for use in the common schools of the State.

In Indiana, as in various other States, the sentiment had been forming that school-books could and should be furnished to the pupils more cheaply. As a supposed step toward this end, there have been provisions made in a great number of States looking toward some sort of uniformity, either throughout the State or over smaller units of territory, or others prohibiting the too frequent change of texts. The ultimate aim, however, seems to be lower prices. "It is assumed that retail prices fixed by publishers and retail

* See Fourteenth Report, p. 35.

dealers are relatively higher than of other commodities; that they are not fixed by the natural laws of supply and demand, but that the prices charged buyers are rendered unjustly high by combination between the publishers and large retailers."

In the attempt of the States to regulate the cost of such books to the public there seem to be four plans in general use: * (1) Free text-books, bought by the school officials, as are other forms of apparatus, held as public property and loaned to pupils; (2) State publication; (3) the indirect contract system; and (4) the direct contract system. By the Indiana law of 1889 the contract may be made by the Board of Text-book Commissioners directly with the publishers, or with authors or compilers of books, to be bought outright and published by the commission. A maximum price was fixed by the act for each of the fifteen different books provided for. Immediately upon the enforcement of the act bids were received and contracts made for texts in reading, arithmetic, geography, and penmanship, and the year following in the remaining branches—spelling, English grammar, physiology, and United States history. In the mean time the maximum price of the History had been raised by special act of the Legislature, and two books in physiology substituted for the one previously prescribed. By Supreme Court decisions it has been established that the law is not only constitutional but mandatory, both upon school officers and patrons

While in general the function described belongs to the State Board, books are obtained through the local trustees certifying to the county superintendent the number of the several books needed, by whom a requisition is made upon the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and through him upon the contractor. Books are shipped directly to the county superintendents, and from them obtained by the local trustees. Reports and payments for books sold are made

* Systems of Text-book Supply, by Prof. S. S. Parr, 1888.

quarterly to the superintendent, by whom final payment is made to the contractor.

The list of books as now introduced (which can not be changed for five years from the date of their adoption) comprises the following: Reading, arithmetic, geography, advanced grammar, physiology, spelling, and penmanship, all published by the Indiana Book Company; and the first book in language and a history of the United States, by Ginn & Company.

Other services rendered by the board have been in the development of township and county institutes, the introduction of uniform courses of study into rural schools, and the closer articulation of collegiate and secondary institutions (all of which find consideration elsewhere in this volume), in maturing a wise system of certificating teachers, in the uniform encouragement given to all professional means of improvement, and the constant and judicious care exercised over the legislation of the State touching schools. Indeed, it is just this unheralded service which defies statistics and definition, whose influences are not calculable or apparent, whose results do not appear in kind, but work out in institutions, in motive and habit, that chiefly justifies the board's existence. But for the official and personal encouragement of the board and its members every agency mentioned above must have been wholly wanting, or greatly crippled in its workings.

As marking a fairly well-defined tendency in Indiana educational affairs, the following extract from the State Superintendent's report for 1885-'86 * concerning the proper functions of the State Board of Education is inserted:

"(1) It should be given full powers to fix the qualifications of teachers for the different classes of schools, to determine the grades and duration of their licenses, and, through the county superintendents, to provide for and direct their examinations. (2) It should be empowered to prescribe

* Part I, p. 198.

courses of study for schools of different grades and classes. (3) It should be empowered to make general rules and regulations regarding the location and construction of school-houses. (4) It should be given full supervisory control of the county and township institutes. (5) It should be empowered to make general rules and regulations for the government of county boards of education, in the adoption of text-books and apparatus, and for the government of trustees in the purchase of school furniture and supplies."

Much of all this has already gone into the control of the board, either by common consent or by statute, and the experiment has generally justified itself. The State has reason to congratulate itself upon the high character of the official service of its central educational department.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM (Continued).

II. LOCAL CONTROL.

As the township is the original administrative unit of our government, so, since 1852, it has been the unit of our school system as well. In the phraseology of the Revised Statute of 1859, "each and every township that now is or may hereafter be organized in any county in this State is hereby also declared to be a school township, and as such to be a body politic and corporate, by the name and style of 'school-township of County,' etc."

The township school administration is, through the law—especially the earlier statutes—made the standard for all school administrations. The duties of the township trustee are made in general the duties of the city and town school trustee. The modifications in the administration of the system are few and unimportant. For almost half a century of

Statehood the township was in fact, if not in theory, the determining factor in all school legislation.

Upon the reorganization of the system in 1852 the law immediately, and, in time, public sentiment, recognized, beside the township, the incorporated town and the city as independent school corporations. In the common thought this came slowly. The town is yet subject to the county control in all matters of supervision, as are the townships. And not until 1885 was the right of the city to extend its instruction beyond that found expedient in the rural schools fully established.

As at present administered, then, the school system of Indiana recognizes three classes of schools, or three kinds of school corporations: (1) the township, (2) the incorporated town, and (3) the city. They are co-ordinate, though not identical in powers, share alike in general privileges and responsibilities, and are mutually exclusive. Theoretically, the differences in control are such as are incident to the different environing conditions, in the city, the town, and the suburban country.

They share alike in their general responsibilities and limitations. All are restricted in their levies; are subject to like conditions in the distribution of revenue, the expenditure of the several funds, and the selection of teachers; follow the same prescribed (legal) curriculum; make uniform statistical reports; and are integral parts of one system. They share in the same privileges. They draw upon a common fund; have equal legal right to all the advantages of graded and advanced instruction; participate in common courses and a uniform management; and have (theoretically) the benefits of a central supervision. That there are marked differences in actual administration is, of course, true. These will appear in the more detailed consideration following.

One other fact should be mentioned in these general considerations. "A civil township and the school township of the same territory are distinct corporations, and each must

sue and be sued in its own proper corporate name, and neither can sue in the name of the other or that of the township trustee. So also a civil town and the school town (or city) are distinct corporations." The management of the schools is not a new function bestowed upon the civil or municipal corporation, but the function of an independent and distinct corporation existing for school purposes alone. Each such corporation is, therefore, entitled to receive and expend its proper school money, employ its teachers, and manage its schools independently of any control by any other such corporation. The trustee of the civil township and the trustee of the school township are, legally, two persons. In the incorporated towns and cities the two sets of functions are referred to and performed by different officials.

1. Administration in Townships.

By an act of March, 1889, township officers, including trustees, are elected (on the first Monday of April) for a term of four years. But no person is "eligible to the office of township trustee more than four years in any period of eight years." This selection of trustee by popular vote brings the office into politics, as any other civil office. Its most objectionable features appear in the performance of purely educational duties, which, while legally distinct, are not readily separated either in official practice or public judgment from those incident to the civil office.

Unlike the earlier system, the present provides one trustee only (not three) in each township, and so simplifies greatly the machinery. But it is, perhaps, the most pronounced instance of centralizing of power known to our Commonwealth. As a civil officer he is required, speaking generally, to manage the finances of the township. Besides, he is official inspector of elections; is custodian of the ballot-box; boards the election officers; takes the voting census; is overseer of the poor, to whom he may give temporary aid; may commit neglected girls to the female reformatory; may sue for abandoned wife or children; may administer oaths; is

fence viewer; assesses the commutation road tax; controls road hedges; nominates drainage commissioners and repairs public drains; registers dogs, and manages the dog fund, reimbursing for sheep killed; has charge of the unsold school lands; and makes various reports to the county commissioners, to the County Superintendent, and the State Bureau of Statistics.

As a school officer he is expected to perform in general all the duties which the earlier township board—particularly the clerk and treasurer—was held responsible for under the old law. Specifically, the trustee of each township is made responsible for the establishment and convenient location of a sufficient number of schools for the education of all the children therein; he may abolish or change school districts; he locates and erects all houses throughout his township; purchases and is responsible for the care of all school property; levies all local taxes, both for building and tuition; disburses all revenues, amounting in the aggregate throughout the State to millions of dollars annually; takes the enumeration of school-children; acts as local agent in supplying the needed school-books, under the recent law; employs and pays teachers; directs the gradation of schools and the establishment of higher departments; is the sole manager and responsible head of the township school; controls the township library; has general charge of the township institutes; and makes or directs, or directs to be made, all reports touching the township schools. Besides, the several trustees of each county co-operate as a county board of education, and select the superintendent of schools.

Indeed, it would appear that, touching all these matters, whether of the civil township or the school corporation, the power of the trustee is practically autocratic. Patrons may petition, and the county board may recommend, and the superintendent may advise, and even the county commissioners may demur, but, except in unimportant particulars, the authority of the trustee is absolute.

Even this irresponsibleness of power, however, is less ob-

jectionable than the unwarranted mixing of unrelated functions in the duties of a single officer. Whatever it may be in practice, in theory it is now generally conceded that county superintendents, city superintendents, the State Superintendent, members of the State Board of Education, and occasionally of municipal boards even, should be selected because of some recognized fitness for the performance of their prescribed school duties. The present need of a rural school is for a professional administration of the local school system—an administration that is impossible with numerous and responsible school duties attached, as an afterthought, to an office already overburdened with civil affairs, however ably the office may be conducted. It is to be hoped that the school may, at no distant day, have its own appropriate officer.

A word should be said, perhaps, of the school director. The district is not a corporation; only a part of one. Yet its taxpayers (that is, heads of families) are required to meet annually and elect one of their number as director of the district. Such officer has general charge of the school-house and property therein, under the direction of the trustee, makes repairs as ordered by the voters of the district, provides fuel, presides at school meetings, and acts as the organ of communication between the inhabitants and the township trustee. He is the local agent of the trustee and is under his orders.

2. Incorporated Towns.

A second kind of school corporation is the incorporated town, co-ordinate with the township, and receiving and expending its own funds.

There are 247 such incorporated towns in the State, in each of which the board of trustees elects, annually in June, one person to act as school trustee for a term of three years. The trustees so chosen constitute the school board of the town, having in general the same functions as the single trustee in each township. They are independent of school meetings, may employ their own special superintendents and

teachers, but make all statistical reports to the county superintendent, and can only employ licensed teachers. The schools of the towns are subject to visitation by the County Superintendent (except the trustees employ regularly their own superintendent), and their teachers are required to attend the township institutes, the annual county institute, and to use the prescribed course of study.

3. Cities.

Indiana has fifty-seven cities which constitute a third and quite distinct class of school corporations. In general their organization of schools is the same as in the townships and towns. The trustees in each city are three, as in the towns, but are appointed by the Common Council, to whom they are responsible. The several trustees constitute the school board for the city, but do not individually represent their own wards.

While the township is empowered by law to levy both the local building and tuition taxes, in cities and towns the latter may be recommended by the school trustees, but can only be levied by the civil authorities.

Another difference between the system in the city and that in the townships has already been mentioned in the discussion of the last paragraph. The city, as the town also, may hire a special superintendent, to whom the immediate control of the schools is assigned, and who becomes the executive and counselor of the board.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM (Continued).

III. THE COMMON SCHOOL.

As developed in Indiana, the State's school system includes elementary and secondary schools, a special school for the training of teachers, two institutions for superior instruction, schools for the training of the defective and wayward classes, school and township libraries, county and township institutes, etc. In legal phrase, and by common usage, the term "common school" is made to include elementary and secondary schools only. Editions of the Common School Law include also legislation with reference to teachers' institutes and free libraries, and, in a separate section, the acts in force relating to the State Normal School.

Common schools exist in the form of (1) rural elementary schools; (2) township graded and union schools; (3) town and village schools; (4) city elementary schools; and (5) high schools.

1. The Rural Elementary School.

The importance of the topic will be apparent when it is remembered that nearly four fifths of the school-children of the State receive all the scholastic training they get* from the country schools; that the principal supervision exercised by the State Department is over these same country schools; and that the field of the County Superintendent's duties is the country and village system, chiefly ungraded, employing more than seventy-eight per cent of the teachers of the State, and receiving more than four millions of the five and a quarter million dollars annually expended upon the State's schools. The rapid growth in number of these schools, their efficiency, the dignity of their management, and the public

* See Report for 1876, p. 79.

confidence they command, is an interesting feature in the history of education in Indiana.

In 1855, of about seven thousand districts, more than a thousand, or fifteen per cent, were entirely without schools; four years later the delinquent districts numbered but eleven per cent, and in 1866 but three per cent. At the close of the first year of county superintendency, and for the seventeen years since, more than ninety-nine per cent of the organized districts of the State have annually maintained the full term of school. The State has at present about 9,500 districts, the number varying somewhat, now larger, now smaller, with the shifting of population, the closer school management, the centralization of control, the varying school accommodations, and the introduction of union and graded schools.

From the first attempts at a system in Indiana the rural school has worked at a disadvantage as compared with the administration in cities. Notwithstanding they were given the same legal status under the new Constitution, such schools have existed, and continued to exist, under very unequal conditions. Then, as now, the wealth being in cities, degrees of culture and efficiency could be had in their schools that lay beyond the reach of the districts. Prior to 1850, though the only school legislation was in favor of the townships, the only schools were in the towns; and after 1852 the equal legislation made the unequal privileges only less glaring.

For the same reason, re-enforced by others, perhaps, the rural districts have, not in other generations only, but in the present as well, not in Indiana alone, but in other States, had uniformly shorter terms. So that, as respects formal training, the city does as much for the boy before he is sixteen as the country district can do for him during his minority.

For obvious reasons, also, in the suburban schools teachers have a more uncertain tenure of office, and, at the best, more brief. It may sometimes be the teacher's preference

that this is so, sometimes the patrons', sometimes the school officials'. Whatever the real cause, it operates as a rule that the city system affords to the teacher such opportunities for continued service as the township does not. Short terms and changing and unequal employment have greatly hindered the farmers' schools and the development of rural life. Of course, along with all these must be remembered the fact that the sparse populations make school-going inconvenient. Long distances, and unimproved roads, and small schools, and short terms, and poor and changing teachers make the school uninviting to the indifferent and of minimum service to even the most earnest and studious.

Of course there are regenerative conditions in rural life. The out-of-school influences cultivate some wholesome habits. The relatively simple domestic and social life, the strong naturalism and corresponding freedom from artificiality, the exacting industrialism, and limited leisure make the training of youth in the outlying districts to be less conventional than in the cities, but, in general, more disciplinary. But this is not because of the schools; it is rather in spite of them.

The policy that has done most, perhaps, to reclaim the country school from its low estate, and endow it with the elements of permanency and helpfulness, is that which finds its expression in gradation, concentration, union schools, graduation, township high schools, etc.—movements full of suggestion to the teacher.

A. EARLY ATTEMPTS AT GRADATION.

A graded school is one in which the pupil's advancement is measured by, and estimated in terms of, a course of studies, graded and distributed as a means of culture, and taken as a standard. "As a mechanism, the graded system demands that pupils of the same grade attend school with regularity, and that they possess equal attainments, equal mental capacity, equal vigor, equal home assistance and opportunity, and that they be instructed by teachers possess-

ing equal ability and skill."* That is to say, this is the ideal condition. That it exists in perfection no one supposes, but its approximation may be found in all best schools—first, those in the centers of population.

The advantages of the graded system have been summarized as follows: (1) It economizes the labor of instruction; (2) it reduces the cost of instruction; (3) it makes the instruction more effective; (4) it facilitates good government and discipline; (5) it affords a better means of inciting pupils to industry. Perhaps it should be said that the system becomes necessary because of the fact of the gradual unfolding of the child.

The graded system is very general in the United States—more so than in England or most continental countries. But this is only true, in any extended way, of cities. The country school in the United States makes progress here but slowly. A few States have done creditably.

After some little attempt in cities thirty years ago, the next effort to be noted in Indiana was among the better private schools. A class of academies flourished from 1850 to 1870 that, with a course of instruction, separate classrooms, and a number of associated teachers, gave, for this State, almost the first proof of the real efficiency of systematic, graduated lessons and exercises. The better country and village schools—a few of them—soon made like attempts. But the movement was not popular. Perhaps opposed because not understood.

As early as 1847 Lewis Bollman had advocated the grading of country schools, but up to 1856 the State educational department could claim a graded system of schools in not more than half a dozen of the seven thousand school corporations, and these the superintendent described as "passing through the experience of infancy, struggling with the difficulties incident to new enterprises, contending with prejudices, battling with selfishness and those time-honored usages

* E. E. White.

which often induce a skepticism in educational matters that is exceedingly hard to overcome." Time only, and the successful administration of a few schools bold enough to insist upon a regulated course of instruction, could overcome the common prejudice. Graded schools must justify their claims.

2. Provisions of the Law.

In the mean time the law had recognized the graded school, and provided for its incorporation into the State's system. While not obligatory, the law was very liberal.

A. GRADED SCHOOLS.

After having provided for and enumerated the duties of the township board, section 19 of the law of 1852 provided that "Such board may establish graded schools or a modification thereof where such establishment is practical and convenient, and in such case they shall so classify the children of their townships as to secure to all equitable participation in the advantages thereof." This was included, unchanged, in the revision of 1853, to which Superintendent Larrabee, by way of comment, added that under its generous provisions the trustees might "authorize the teaching of any branches of science, literature, and art which public interest and public opinion may require." But a "graded course" seemed poorly understood.

In the law of 1855 the provision had been reduced to the legalizing of "graded schools or such modification of them as may be practicable." In commenting upon the clause, however, Superintendent Mills explained* that, "in such case, the districts might embrace the pupils classed in the primary and secondary departments, and the grammar and high-school pupils might be taught at a school located at some central point in the township." This affords an early emphasis of the policy to make and administer the schools of

* Revised School Law of Indiana, March 5, 1855, by Superintendent Caleb Mills, p. 41.

the township as one school, that has done more for Indiana rural schools than all other influences combined. "Admission to this school," Superintendent Mills continued, "should depend entirely on the ability to sustain a thorough and impartial examination in a given grade of studies."

In accordance with this suggestion, perhaps because of it, the revision of the law, March 11, 1861, added to the original provision "and provide for admission into the higher departments of the graded school from the primary schools of their township such pupils as are sufficiently advanced for such admission." The law was perhaps in advance even of the average local sentiment upon the policy.

The same or similar provisions were made in every modification of the law up to 1873. But neither in the law nor in the explanations of the department is any hint that grading of schools in the country meant anything more than setting off the higher classes from the separate schools into one or a few upper classes in a township higher school. There appears nowhere the suggestion that a graded course of instruction might be profitably used with the district primary schools also. In the revision of 1873, however, were added to this one, legalizing graded schools, two paragraphs: one authorizing the employment of superintendents in cities, and another to the effect that trustees of two or more school corporations might establish joint graded schools. This possible co-operation of corporations, and the combination of schools, absorbing the smaller ones and strengthening the others, greatly hastened the movement toward a graded system. Such schools witnessed the beneficence of the class system, attracted more capable instructors, made longer terms possible, and, more than all else, emphasized the need of uniform requirements and general agreement among primary teachers in preparing their pupils "for admission into the higher departments of these graded schools."

The law, as last mentioned, remains practically the same

at present. What it has achieved in twenty years remains to be presented.

In 1852, Superintendent Mills is authority for the statement that among all the corporations of the State there were but two that could make any show of buildings suitable for the accommodation of graded schools. Two years later his only reference to such (graded) schools shows that the term is used as meaning city schools only. In his second report, also (1856), in an elaborate and admirable discussion of the principles of gradation, its influence upon schools, and the public antagonism or indifference to it, the interests of rural schools are not mentioned. The fact is that graded work in district and township schools belongs to a later period. Nevertheless, there were in 1865, in the entire State, ninety-three graded schools reported. Ten years later there were three times as many in the districts alone.

In 1873 Albert G. Lane, principal of a ward school in Chicago, was elected superintendent of the township schools of Cook County, lying just outside the city. With the impulse toward systematic training acquired, Superintendent Lane began at once putting into practice in his country and village schools a tentative course, and spent the year in introducing it to his teachers and the people. It was admirably conceived, and laid the foundation for much similar work in other sections of the country. The year following, a complete course was formulated, and was made the basis of the instruction throughout Cook County.

About the same time Mr. A. S. Wade, Superintendent of Monongalia County, in West Virginia, "having long entertained the opinion that a common-school course of study could be completed in less time than is usually spent in obtaining an imperfect knowledge of a few branches," began to apply his ideas to the county schools. They were similar to those in Cook County, Ill.

"The initial steps were the formation of classes in schools for the pursuit of studies in advance of the simplest rudiments, and reporting the names of the scholars in such

classes as an honor-roll in educational meetings," held statedly. The year following, a complete course of studies was put into operation, including public examinations, graduation, alumni associations, and annual register of names of graduates. The first examinations were held in February, 1876, one hundred and ninety-six out of two hundred and sixty-one receiving passes and diplomas. Similar classes have been since graduated annually. President Thompson, of the University of West Virginia, is authority for the statement that "the plan has produced in Monongalia County an educational revival." It dignified the work of the country school and gave it place among the efficient agencies for culture, and honored because efficient.

The law of 1873, in Indiana, requiring a superintendent in each county, re-enforced by a board of education, uniform books throughout the county, and a closer administration and inspection of schools, made uniformity in instruction, and in the means and conditions of best teaching, almost a necessity. The greater centralization of forces made the work easier also, and its direction more intelligent.

B. A GRADED COURSE.

In anticipation of the proposed law the State board began the consideration of a uniform course, and in 1872 had a report upon the subject, as follows: * The committee were "unable to prescribe definitely any course of study for ungraded schools." Their inability arose from "the diversity of conditions necessary to secure uniformity." Among these conditions were mentioned (1) the inequality in length of school terms; (2) the shortness of terms; (3) the inexperience and inefficiency of many of the teachers; (4) the want of a thorough, systematic, intelligent supervision of the schools. Nevertheless, they recommended that there should be used but one series of books in any one subject in a given school; that reading, writing, and spelling, "as the ground-

* Indiana School Journal, December, 1872, p. 490.

work of an education," should be given daily attention; that fifth and sixth readers be introduced sparingly; that simple first readers (not spellers) and the blackboard should be used with beginners; that in arithmetic the emphasis be put upon the fundamental processes; that a text in grammar should not be introduced before the fourth-reader work; and that the number of classes be reduced.

At the June meeting of county superintendents in 1874 a committee—consisting of Walter S. Smith, of Marion County; A. C. Goodwin, of Clark County; and John M. Wallace, of Bartholomew County—was appointed to consult with the State board and submit a course of study for the district schools. The year following, a course was reported and the judgment of the board asked as to its merits. This was in July, 1874. The committee to whom the subject was now referred comprised A. M. Gow, James H. Smart, and William A. Jones, who, three months later, reported unfavorably regarding the course submitted, as "too elaborate and extended to be practicable." Several of the counties had delayed local action to receive the board's recommendations. In the mean time, however, the work of grading and unifying had in places already begun.

In the annual statement of Mr. Hopkins (1874), being an exhibit of the work of the schools for the academic year 1873-'74, twenty-six counties reported uniform requirements throughout the township, and most of them public courses. Floyd County, under Superintendent J. K. Waltz, introduced during that year (1873-'74) a common-school course of five grades, which, together with the code of regulations adopted by the county board, was "published in proper form and distributed to all teachers and school officers, to be observed and enforced." Gibson County, for the same year, under Superintendent W. T. Stilwell, reported "forty-two teachers in thirteen graded schools, eight schools being in unincorporated towns and four in rural districts." A uniform course for the county had just been introduced. Superintendent John Carney accompanied his report of Jennings

County with a copy of his course of study, distributed into six grades, and including the eight accepted legal branches. The most complete syllabus in the State for the time, perhaps, was that of Superintendent Smith, of Marion County—a syllabus which, no doubt, formed the basis of the course submitted to the State board in 1875, and later to the superintendents' convention. Besides the men already named, but who were forward in this movement, were J. H. Binford, of Hancock County; James A. C. Dobson, of Hendricks County; W. B. Chrisler, of Lawrence County; Richard Norris, of Shelby County; and George Bowman, of White County—all of whom had adopted courses under authority of the County Board of Education, and in practical operation prior to September, 1874.

In his official report to the department (1878), William M. Walters, of Adams County, presented a carefully formulated course of study, and discussed its relation to the grading of schools in the districts. It comprised six classes, included all the legal branches, and suggested a daily programme with twenty-five recitations, and fifty minutes, upon an average, to each grade. Others discussed the various phases of the subject, and L. S. Major, of Shelby County, claimed that the district schools of the State were already (1878) "approaching a well-regulated system of gradation." The Superintendent of Stark County, on the other hand, two years later, made report upon the same subject, but spoke of the attempt to grade county schools as "a kind of red-tape display, sounding well, but not accomplishing the object aimed at," and characterized grading as "only a method of teaching that might do well in certain localities, and not be the best in others."

For the next four years the question was variously discussed, and with almost contradictory conclusions. Where opposition was offered—and there *was* opposition—it seemed to arise either from unwise suggestions and irrational claims of its advocates, or because the principle was not comprehended. The need was for "a plain, simple, and practical

course of study for the schools of every county in Indiana—one which any county superintendent can easily and readily explain to the teachers; one which can be comprehended and fully understood by pupils and patrons of the district schools, and give alike to all the schools of the county the same system and the same regular work."

These discussions were published in the three biennial reports of the department, from 1878 to 1882, inclusive, and put into the hands of school officers, and particularly county superintendents, throughout the State. The grading of schools was a great educational want and a perennial theme for discussion.

In the latter year another course was submitted by Superintendent E. B. Milam, of Knox County, followed by a paper before the County Superintendents' Association, June, 1883, by J. W. Holcomb, upon Our Country School System, in which he said: "Let us set down, then, as the first essential of a good country system, that there should be a well-graded district school within reach of the home of every pupil in the county. The gradation here considered means, of course, the classification of the pupils in one room, under one teacher, according to their advancement in their studies."

The year following (in 1884) a committee of county superintendents, previously appointed, and of which W. R. Wilson, of Henry County, was chairman, submitted as a report* a course of five grades, and covering eight years of six or seven months each. The course as reported was almost unanimously adopted by the superintendents, and, through the county boards, accepted and introduced into a majority of the counties within the next four years. It was an efficient means in the elevation of the township schools, and in arousing and conserving local public sentiment on educational matters.

* See Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for Indiana, 1884, Part II, pp. 188, 189.

In the mean time the country and village school section had been organized in the State Teachers' Association, and in December, 1887, a committee of its members* was appointed to prepare a new course. This, with some minor changes, was submitted to the County Superintendents' Association June 26, 1888, and was by that body referred to another committee for revision. After another year's consideration, and a third presentation, it was adopted and recommended to the counties. It bears the date 1890.

A great majority of the rural schools of the State attempt to follow, and do, more or less successfully, work to this course. Some localities, from local or unfavorable conditions, are unable to do so; others prefer one of their own making; a few counties make no effort to unify the work of the different schools. These are few, however, and public sentiment in Indiana favors a careful gradation of schools, even in the most sparsely settled districts. It must, of course, be understood that the use of no one of these "courses" has been or could be compulsory. The function of the convention of superintendents, or the County or State Board of Education, is only to advise, not to require. The introduction of graded lessons is not "legal" (established, even legalized, by statute), but the result of conference and co-operation of those officially interested.

Since the adoption of a uniform series of books throughout the State, the course of instruction has been again revised, but only to adapt it to the new texts, and has not been greatly changed.

* H. M. La Follette, State Superintendent, James H. Henry, Fremont Goodwin, Miss Anna M. Brown, and T. D. Aker.

CHAPTER XXII.

*THE PRESENT SYSTEM (Continued).**3. Graduation from Rural Schools.*

THE process of grading schools involves (1) a carefully arranged course of studies, (2) the most equitable classification of pupils in terms of this course, and (3) a uniform plan and practice in promotions. But, logically and chronologically, promotion implies a final promotion—hence graduation.

Practically, also, the holding out of some final attainment as an incentive to pupils to systematic, persistent study in schools with a purpose, suggested the use and recognition of a form of graduation upon the completion of the common-school branches. Thirty years before, the principle had been actually applied in Indiana. Lewis Bollman, of Bloomington, had urged graduation from rural schools as a means of their improvement. Very early, therefore, after the adoption of uniform courses for the schools, superintendents began considering the introduction also of some form of graduation and honorable transfer to neighboring high schools.

Superintendent John M. McGee, of Monroe County, reported as already in operation in 1880 a fairly well developed system. It included the examination in writing, at a central point in each township, of such pupils as had completed the prescribed course, the percenting of papers by the County Superintendent, subsequent "commencement exercises" for the successful ones in public, and the presentation of diplomas. These certificates of graduation from the common schools were made, by previous arrangement, to admit the holders to the preparatory department of the State University or to the Bloomington High School without re-examination.

In other counties similar plans obtained, and with wholesome results. The examinations were annual in each town-

ship, upon lists of questions prepared by the County Superintendent or by a committee of his appointment, and of the character of those prepared by the State board for the local examination of teachers. As a result of the experiment it was found in most counties that a larger percentage of the children of the township completed the course, fewer claimed exemption from distasteful subjects, the course was more vigorously administered, and a wholesome influence left that carried many more boys and girls into the higher schools.

The subject was included in the superintendent's report to the department in 1881 and 1882, and in the following year the convention, after full and free discussion, resolved—

(1) That a standing committee be appointed by the convention, consisting of five county superintendents and one member of the State Board of Education, with the State Superintendent as chairman; (2) that this committee prepare lists of questions on the eight common-school branches and the United States Constitution, to be furnished the county superintendents for the examination of graduates from the district schools;* (3) that such examinations be held on the third Saturday of the month; (4) that diplomas be granted to pupils who shall attain an average of seventy-five per cent, and not fall below sixty-five per cent in any branch; (5) that graduating exercises be held in each township under the supervision of the superintendent.

This plan has since been followed in a large number of counties, and with the most satisfactory results. It is perhaps true, as has been said, that "no greater impetus has been given to the work of district schools than that which has attended the introduction of this feature. Janus-like, it looks both ways—forward and backward. Backward over the entire school course, and necessitates efficiency at every

* The first committee appointed consisted of W. H. Ernst, Wells County; O. P. McAuley, Owen County; James Kilroy, Posey County; J. L. Shauck, Rush County; and Frank E. Cooper, Lake County.

point. It is destined to work a revolution, in that it strengthens the work all along the line. It secures better instruction, better gradation, and closer supervision. It looks forward to the high school, to which its diploma is a ticket of admission. It thus unites the district school and the high school, and as it marks a degree of success it is an incentive to good." It was the conclusion of Superintendent Holcomb in 1883, looking back upon two years of the experiment, that "each county may mark the date of its first graduations from the country schools as the beginning of a new era in its educational history."

To such pupils as have passed a satisfactory examination upon questions prepared as stated, a sort of diploma, called a "certificate of proficiency," is given, each bearing the seal of the State, and signed by the County Superintendent, the township trustee, and the teacher.

4. Joint Graded and Township Schools.

In addition to the district schools, whether graded or ungraded, the Indiana system includes also a class of schools drawing patronage, not from the district, but from the township, sometimes from two or more townships jointly, having an extended course of study, employing two or more teachers, and to which the elementary, though graded, district schools contribute as preparatory departments. Out of the latter the pupils pass by regular promotion to the former, for instruction of somewhat higher grade than is offered by the local neighborhood school. This gives rise (1) to the township high schools, or (2) to the separation of the higher elementary classes from the others, and gathering them into one school from various parts of the township.

Reference has already been elsewhere made to the law* authorizing trustees to establish graded schools or such modifications of them as may be practicable, and providing for admission into the higher department of these schools cer-

* Section 19 of the law of 1852.

tain pupils from the primary schools or departments; and to the supplemental section * authorizing the school trustees of two or more district-school corporations to establish joint graded schools with like privileges.

In 1877 the Legislature enacted that the trustees of two or more adjacent counties or townships may establish a joint school upon petition of their patrons, presumably for the better accommodation of pupils entitled to advanced instruction.

Upon these three acts rests legally the township graded school. No discrimination is made in the law between district graded schools and township graded schools, or rather the original idea seemed to include the latter, but not the former. With the introduction of uniform books, however, a common course of study for the elementary schools, longer terms, and uniform administration of schools through the year, local conditions, and a growing public sentiment favorable to education, have created the township graded school of somewhat different rank and privilege, but still a common school within the meaning of the law.

"A township graded school is more exclusively under the control of the trustees than is a district school. The people of a township do not meet for school purposes, and no director is appointed for a township school. Patrons have no right under the school law to prohibit the trustees from employing any teacher with whom they are dissatisfied by the exercise of the peremptory challenge, nor can they order the trustees to introduce additional branches of learning, or dictate as to the time of commencing school, as in case of the district school. Appeals can not be taken to the County Superintendent in regard to the location of graded (township) schools, as in the case of the district schools. Aside from these exceptions, the graded school is subject to the same laws as are other schools. The teachers must hold a regular license, and must be paid out of the same revenue as the other teachers

* March 8, 1873.

are paid, and are subject to the same rules and regulations as all other teachers." *

Already in 1868 there were more than fifty such schools reported throughout the State; the number two years later had increased to sixty-two, and in 1872 to eighty-one. According to Superintendent Hopkins, they were then "growing rapidly in popularity, and, were it not for their essential interference with the duration of the district schools, they would soon become a part of the educational system of every township in the State." In 1876 the official reports show one hundred and twenty-seven township graded schools in fifty counties, as follows, viz.: Sixteen counties had one each, thirteen had two, fourteen had three, two had four, one (Noble) had five, three (Carroll, Park, and Posey) had six each, and one (Gibson) had twelve.

In the fifteen years since the number has been more than trebled, twenty counties reporting about one half of the entire number, or nearly one for every township. As yet, statistics are neither accurately kept nor uniformly reported. Summaries conflict. The place and constitution of the two forms of schools—(1) the township and (2) the district graded school—are not clearly distinguished.

Table exhibiting Graded Schools in Districts and Townships.

YEARS.	Districts.	Graded schools.	Townships.	Graded schools.
1868.....	8,594	118	988	68
1870.....	8,861	184	992	62
1872.....	9,100	164	998	81
1874.....	9,158	161	1,011	110
1876.....	9,310	271	1,011	127
1878.....	9,380	396	1,011	151
1880.....	9,400	339	1,011	153
1882.....	9,473	438	1,011	192
1884.....	9,500	800	1,011	203
1886.....	9,700	368	1,011	171
1888.....	9,720	375	1,011	195
1890.....	9,715	381	1,011	200

* Commentary on the School Law of Indiana, by Hon. James H. Smart, 1881, p. 81.

The accompanying table is an attempt to show the growth of the idea of gradation and its incorporation into the system rather than to give exact figures. It is suggestive, however, of an important movement in rural school administration.

The schools marked in the table "district graded schools" are only those that employ two or more teachers, the number varying more or less in different years. One thing is apparent, however: there is a constant though not uniform increase in their numbers. Notwithstanding the encouraging increase in the township high schools, it will be seen that the whole number is yet less than one fifth of the number of townships in the State.

Many of these—most of them perhaps—are located in the villages and towns, affording to the children of the village, as well as to those of the outlying districts, opportunities for more extended study than the most liberally managed district school could furnish. A few of these village schools, intelligently administered, as they may be under the general law, have developed into real high schools, covering fairly most of the preparatory work for the average college, and deserving of confidence and every encouragement as the high-grade common school—the people's college. One of these township schools offers as an advanced course of two years a critical review of the common branches, literary studies, grammar and elementary rhetoric, algebra, physical geography, civil government, and physics. Another course includes higher arithmetic, algebra, book-keeping, rhetoric, and Latin. General history, something of science, and occasionally geometry also, appear upon inspection of other courses.

The principal of such school is made by some counties the principal also of his township—a sort of assistant to the County Superintendent—another result of the evolution of the country graded-school system that has done much to unify and give significance to the work of the district schools.

5. Miscellaneous Conditions.

Aside from what has been said, certain other lines of improvement of rural schools should be mentioned. Indeed, their consideration can be little more than a mere mention, since the statistics of these schools have seldom been taken or kept separately from those for the cities.

(1) The average length of the school term for the State (both city and country) has increased from 87 days in 1868 to 120 days in 1875 ; and to an average of 131 days for the 15 years since 1876. Inasmuch as the school term for cities has shown no marked variation for these years, the improvement in the district schools in this respect is apparent. Still, this average has never reached seven months, and for the district schools alone not six months perhaps. Besides, the requirement of the Constitution that the system of schools provided by the State shall be "general and uniform" seems scarcely to be recognized when one finds that the average length of the school year varied in 1887-'88 from 86 days in Du Bois County to 200 days in Vanderburgh County, or that in a given county the terms for adjoining townships may differ by nearly four months.

(2) The school properties, including houses and appliances, have been greatly improved. More than one third of the houses are now stone or brick, many of them in the country being neatly built, well heated and lighted, comfortable structures, the 9,300 houses in rural districts representing an investment of \$7,830,000, or fifty per cent of the whole property valuation of schools.

(3) The change in local administration of school affairs has been greater, and productive of greater good than is generally understood. For twenty years the selection of teachers was nominally in the hands of the trustee, but practically was made by the patrons. Since 1873 the authority is with the trustee only, a gain in every way. The schools of a township are taken together to constitute one system, whose teachers are employed and assigned to places

by, and report to, the trustee. As a result, favoritism has relatively less influence in the selection of teachers ; better teachers are employed ; each is brought into more direct competition with his colaborers, through common courses, common reports, common institute and other professional requirements, and under the more uniform conditions; the tenure of office has been lengthened, the continuous service being substituted slowly for the transient and migratory; and consolidation of districts and the centralization of forces generally. Concerning this last point it appears that while in twenty years the country school population has increased twenty-three per cent, the number of districts has increased but nine and half per cent.

This lessening the number of districts does not always or generally mean the crowding of schools; but the massing of forces, the division of labor, the economy of skill through union schools, and wise supervision. The more compact population of the city makes all this work easier; and because of the multiplicity of laws and conventionalities, prescription, common control, and uniform administration are pushed and accepted with greater facility than among the smaller and scattered settlements.

But to the rural school, economy of instrument and time and effort are just as needful and fruitful of good as in the town. Small schools and mixed classes, and irregular attendance and unequal terms, and chance courses, are no less disintegrating because they chance to be the part of a country life.

CHAPTER XXIII.

*THE COMMON SCHOOL SYSTEM (Continued).*6. *City School Systems.*

BESIDES the ungraded schools of the country, the district graded schools, the township graded and the higher elementary schools, and the joint graded schools, the State system comprises schools in incorporated cities and towns.

The law, however, recognizes three, and only three, kinds, or ranks, or orders of school corporations. These are (1) the township, (2) the incorporated town, and (3) the city. Each is entitled to receive and expend its school moneys independently of any other school corporation. The first is directly managed as to school affairs by the township trustee; the second and third each by three trustees, constituting a managing board. While there were schools in cities prior to the present law, they were no part of the public system; and after the passage of the new law, and its most generous provisions, the development of schools in cities for many years was local and individual. Prior to 1875 less than twenty towns had a high-school history; a dozen, perhaps, had sent out graduates. The schools of Indiana cities as public schools have grown up since the war. By a yet vigorous generation of school men the pioneer work in organizing and grading city schools has been chiefly done.

The first administrations were intermittent. Legislation halted. The Supreme Court decisions were adverse, civil war intervened, and high taxes discouraged, while danger threatened. Public opinion was sometimes unfriendly. In 1857 the trustees in Fort Wayne, defeated in their efforts to raise a special tax, mortgaged their own private property to erect a needed building. Indianapolis schools were entirely closed from 1858 to 1862, and the high school two years longer. Terre Haute reopened in 1860, after five years of intermission. In New Albany the public schools were

closed for the year 1855, and again from 1857 to 1860, because of the action of the courts, and for two years during the civil war. Muncie had but sixty months of school in the fifteen years from 1853 to 1867, and Greencastle even less.

Until recent years tuition and subscription schools eked out the short terms in the smaller cities and towns; and their seven to nine months have frequently been scarcely less private than public. Indeed it still remains true that the short public terms of the villages are lengthened by the addition of two or three months of private school, under the same teachers and with the same course, but maintained at the financial risk of the principal or through local enterprise, the school being encouraged by having the free use of the house and the privilege of placing pupils through the public examination.

The only superintendents to be found in the cities prior to 1865 were, in Indianapolis, besides Silas Bowen and George B. Stone, who began the work, Prof. George W. Hoss; in Fort Wayne, Rev. George A. Irwin and S. S. Green; James H. Moore, Joseph Snow, and John M. Olcott in Terre Haute; Charles R. Barnes, James G. May, and George P. Brown in New Albany; and D. E. Hunter in Princeton. Most of the schools began their organization later.

The beginnings of supervision here, as elsewhere, were partial and uncertain. The first superintendent of New Albany schools, enrolling 2,000 pupils, was also principal of the high school. In Evansville, from 1862 to 1865, the mayor was *ex officio* the head of the schools also. Until 1874 Logansport, with 1,700 pupils enrolled, had no other supervision than that afforded by the township trustee. In that year J. K. Waltz was elected. And the first superintendent of the Jeffersonville schools was H. B. Parsons, appointed in 1871. For seven years, from 1874 to 1881, the city had no superintendent. In Indianapolis, moreover, when Prof. Hoss was made superintendent (1862), there had been no such officer for five years, though the schools en-

rolled 3,000 pupils and employed thirty or more teachers. Mr. Hoss was at the same time also a full professor in the Northwestern Christian (now Butler) University, giving half of his time only to the city, at a salary of two hundred and fifty dollars. The year following he was continued as superintendent of schools, in this the largest city of the State, at less than twenty-five dollars a month, to give one fourth of his time to the schools. This was less than thirty years ago.

Although separated here, for discussion, the city school is essentially a part of the common-school system.

It participates in the same revenues, both common-school and congressional-township. It receives its apportionment of the State tax for school purposes. The school trustees, in all the corporations alike, levy the special building tax. The same distinction is made between civil and school corporations in the city or the town as in the township. Enumerations are taken and reports made by cities under the same conditions and through the same channels as by townships. Cities are subject to the same law of transfer and the same minimum requirement in branches to be taught. Teachers in city schools must be certificated as are all other teachers by the County Superintendent upon essentially the same conditions. So far as the law is concerned, also, each corporation has the right of any other to extend its school course, and employ every pedagogic art of gradation and organization to the end of a complete education. Touching these matters the system is uniform.

But there are also differences in administration, rights peculiar to the cities, seeming advantages. They have, or may have, their own school inspectors; and teachers, while examined and licensed for public service by the County Superintendent, are not required to attend either the county or township institutes; moreover, all reports of teachers are made to the local authorities—the superintendent or the city school board. Cities also, by the trustees or their representative, make their own rules and regulations, construct their

own courses, and select their own books.* The local-tuition tax is levied by the civil trustees in towns and the common councils of cities; not, as in townships, by the school trustees. School meetings have no place in cities, and altogether there is more of centralization in their school control than in the township.

The great inequality in city and suburban civil and industrial conditions finds expression in no less unequal developments in educational affairs. The denser population and the concentration of wealth in cities make the maintenance and continuation of schools an easier task. Terms may easily be longer; salaries more equitable; teachers can afford better preparation for their work, because of which and other reasons their tenure of employment is strengthened; supervision becomes closer, gradation more perfect; and, from the more accurate classification which is possible, both the management and the instruction may be the more nearly fitted to the age and attainment of the child. With all the improvements in the district school in the last fifteen years the school term in the city is yet fifty per cent longer, the teacher's tenure of service three times as great, and salaries about as five to eight against the rural teacher.

By act of March 3, 1871 special provision was made for organizing and maintaining schools in cities of 30,000 or more inhabitants. The schools of Indianapolis only as yet are administered under this law. The city is set off into school districts, whose number and boundaries may be changed at the pleasure of the Board of School Commissioners, of whom there is required to be one for each district, chosen by popular vote of the electors of that district, for a term of three years. This board further levies all the taxes for school and library purposes, certifies its teachers (generally by a committee), directs the formation

* This applies since 1889 only to those beyond the elementary texts, now uniformly required by the "Text-book Law," of cities as well as townships.

of a course of study and its employment in the schools, establishes and enforces the general regulations of the system, and, in general, has the care of the schools that is conferred by the common law upon city school trustees.

Except for high schools, characterized elsewhere, no attempt has been made among cities to introduce a uniform course of study. Nevertheless, the distribution of work, the nomenclature of the system, and the conditions of promotion are far less diverse than twenty years ago. The uniformity is incidental rather than mechanical, and belongs to the growth of the system.

7. The Common School Curriculum.

It has already been pointed out that during the first generation of Indiana's statehood but few subjects were taught in the public or in any schools indeed, though in the later years texts had greatly multiplied. Penmanship, spelling, reading, arithmetic, grammar, and geography were all taught, but simply, thoroughly, and without collaterals. Reading did not mean literature, grammar neither included nor presupposed language, and arithmetic omitted all but the most practical. Geography was the one information subject. Neither in the law of 1852 nor 1853 is any mention made of the branches to be taught. The Superintendent's commentary upon the provisions of the latter year explained them as authorizing "the teaching of any branches of science, literature, and art which public interest and public opinion may require."

By the license law of 1855 were first enumerated the subjects which have since been known as the common or legal branches—orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and English grammar; and even these were named as the subjects upon which teachers should be examined rather than as specifying what should be taught in the schools. After requiring that the common school should be taught in the English language, the revised law of 1855 further provided that "schools may teach other languages

in addition to the English as a branch of education." This, in general, meant only German.

In the law of 1865 the provisions were changed so as to read : "The common schools of the State shall be taught in the English language, and the trustees shall provide to have taught in them orthography, reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, English grammar, and good behavior, and such other branches of learning as the advancement of the pupil may require and the trustees from time to time direct." Here it is interesting to note the subjects are first named as constituting the common-school course, at least the minimum requirement ; good behavior is added to the other six ; the teaching of other languages* authorized ; and, in the phrase "such other branches of learning as the advancement of the pupils may require," the first formal concession to the demand for higher courses.

This was still further supplemented by an act of the Legislature, at its special session, May 5, 1869, requiring also physiology and history of the United States ; and amending the provision concerning German by inserting the clause, "that whenever the parentz or guardians of twenty-five or more children in attendance at any school in a township, town, or city shall so demand, it shall be the duty of the school trustee or trustees of said township, town, or city to procure efficient teachers, and introduce the German language as a branch of study into such schools ; and the tuition in said schools shall be without charge."

This, substantially, remains the law to the present.

8. The Organization of High Schools.

By the State Superintendent's official report for 1874 there were in the State 149 cities and incorporated towns,

* "The German, Latin, and other languages may be taught in the common schools, provided the schools be taught in the English language, and all text-books be printed in English, save those necessary to instruction in other languages."—Superintendent Hoss, *Opinions*, 1867, p. 52.

78 of which reported high schools enrolling over 5,000 pupils and 168 teachers. Not all of these, it should be said, were devoted to secondary instruction alone, nor were they all parts of graded city systems. But crude as even the best of them were, they represent a new and worthy addition to the State's common school. Such an organization in any community meant a laudable effort to meet a hopeful demand for larger educational privileges.

The following table is inserted as showing, from the most trustworthy available records, the places and times of the first movement for high schools in Indiana:

Organization of High Schools.

NAME.	Date.	Popula- tion then.	NAME.	Date.	Popula- tion then.
Evansville.....	1850	3,500	New Castle.....	1870	2,500
New Albany.....	1853	7,000	Noblesville.....	1870	3,000
Madison.....	1855	8,000	Seymour.....	1870	4,000
Fort Wayne.....	1857	20,000	Valparaiso.....	1870	3,800
Columbus.....	1859	4,000	Winchester.....	1870	2,200
Princeton.....	1860	.....	Cambridge City...	1871	2,200
Shelbyville.....	1862	2,500	Goshen.....	1871	5,000
Terre Haute.....	1863	22,000	Vincennes.....	1871	8,500
Aurora.....	1863	3,500	Kokomo.....	1872	3,000
Logansport.....	1863	.....	Bloomington.....	1872	3,000
Franklin.....	1864	3,000	North Vernon....	1872	2,500
Indianapolis.....	1864	70,000	Anderson.....	1873	4,000
Lafayette.....	1864	15,000	Crawfordsville....	1873	5,000
Richmond.....	1864	12,000	Delphi.....	1873	2,500
Vevay.....	1864	.....	Dublin.....	1873	1,500
La Porte.....	1866	7,500	Elkhart.....	1873	7,500
Michigan City....	1867	5,500	Huntington.....	1873	4,200
Muncie.....	1867	.....	Plymouth.....	1873	3,500
Greencastle.....	1868	4,500	Rising Sun.....	1873	2,500
Wabash.....	1869	2,500	La Grange.....	1874	1,800
Greensburg.....	1869	4,500	Lebanon.....	1875	2,500
Union City.....	1869	3,000	Ligonier.....	1875	2,100
Jeffersonville....	1869	.....	Kendallville.....	1876	3,000
Edinburg.....	1870	2,000	Frankfort.....	1876	2,500
South Bend.....	1870	.....		

9. *Relation of the High School to the University.*

Ever since the adoption of the first State Constitution the State system of education has been held, both in law and in fact, to include all grades of instruction, "ascending in regular gradation from the township school to the State University." For while the university was not mentioned in the new Constitution, but three days after the passage of the common-school law of 1852 (June 17th) it was enacted that "the institution established by an act to establish a college in the State of Indiana, approved January 28, 1828, is hereby recognized as the University of the State." This admission of the university as a part of the State's endowed agencies for general and public education was only in theory, however, for it was fifteen years after the inception of the system before any positive efforts appear to co-ordinate the schools into related administrations.

At a meeting of the State board in April, 1867, after affirming the State University to be the head of our common-school system, and recognizing the importance of a more intimate relation between it and the lower grades, the board officially requested the members of the university faculty "to attend and labor in the various teachers' institutes and associations throughout the State, so far as their other duties will permit." And two years later, and for successive meetings, the needs of city schools were discussed, superintendents of schools were recommended in cities, conferences were had with the university faculty, and a committee appointed to consider the requirements and condition involved in making and administering high-school courses. School officials were asked, and began to report high-school statistics separately. In June, 1869, the meeting of the board was held at Bloomington, and the "harmonizing of the high-school courses of study to that of the university," or "the relation of the State University to the common schools," was made a special topic of discussion. As a result of the conference, a joint meeting was arranged of committees of

the Indiana Collegiate Association, the Association of City Superintendents, and the State board, to further consider how all these interests might be harmonized. Every year the question was discussed, but no year brought its answer. The colleges were disposed to be exacting; the high schools were not strong; not all teachers were qualified for the task; public sentiment in localities was jealous of the colleges; and schools in cities were yet loosely organized—because of all which progress was slow.

There was progress, however. At the regular meeting of the Board of Education, April 9, 1873, Dr. Nutt, chairman of the committee on high-school courses, formally proposed that "the authorities of the State University be recommended to admit to the Freshmen and Sophomore classes, without further examination, applicants who present certificates from superintendents of public schools that said applicants have completed satisfactorily the required studies." It is doubtful whether the doctor personally approved of the plan fully; certainly the board was not ready to adopt so sweeping a privilege; but referred the matter to the university, whose Board of Trustees voted July 18th to recognize certificates from *certain* high schools—the schools to be named by the Board of Education. It was also ordered by the Board of Trustees that "the minimum standard of admission to the Freshman class" should thereafter be "a creditable examination in orthography, reading, geography, grammar, arithmetic, United States history, composition, word analysis, four books of geometry, algebra to the general theory of equations, Latin grammar, Latin prose composition, Caesar's commentaries (two books), Virgil (two books), or an amount of Latin that shall be equivalent thereto."

Blanks were immediately sent out to city schools asking for information concerning high schools: when founded, length of course, number enrolled, members of senior class, number and qualification of teachers, etc.; and six months later, upon the information received, commissions were

ordered to be issued to the following fifteen schools as the first fruits of six years of discussion :

First Commissioned High Schools.

1. Aurora..... ¹⁸⁶²	Superintendent E. S. Clark.
2. Elkhart..... ¹⁸⁷³	" J. K. Waltz.
3. Franklin..... ¹⁸⁶⁷	" E. W. Thompson.
4. Greencastle..... ¹⁸⁶⁸	" G. W. Lee.
5. Greensburg..... ¹⁸⁶⁹	" C. W. Harvey.
6. Logansport..... ¹⁸⁷²	" G. C. Shepherd.
7. Muncie..... ¹⁸⁷¹	" H. S. McRae.
8. New Albany..... ¹⁸⁷³	" H. B. Jacobs.
9. Plymouth..... ¹⁸⁷³	" R. A. Chase.
10. Princeton..... ¹⁸⁷²	" D. E. Hunter.
11. Rushville..... ¹⁸⁷²	" David Graham.
12. Shelbyville..... ¹⁸⁷²	" W. A. Boles.
13. South Bend..... ¹⁸⁷²	" D. A. Ewing.
14. Terre Haute..... ¹⁸⁷³	" W. H. Wiley.
15. Vincennes..... ¹⁸⁷¹	" T. J. Charlton.

The following year commissions were granted to the superintendents of Evansville,¹⁸⁷⁶ Bloomington,¹⁸⁷² Goshen,¹⁸⁷¹ Mount Vernon,¹⁸⁷² Kokomo,¹⁸⁷² and Seymour.

In the annual report for 1874-'75 Dr. Nutt was led to say that while less than half of the commissioned high schools had sent students to the university, the effect upon the schools of the State was believed to be beneficial. The standard of scholarship had been elevated, even the non-commissioned schools striving to reach the grade which would entitle them to the honor. In 1875 similar commissions were offered to high schools in favor of Purdue University. Two years afterward commissions which had previously been issued and reissued annually were ordered to be made out in favor of the superintendent, to be revoked only for cause, the administration and curriculum remaining unchanged. By 1882 these commissioned schools numbered thirty-four; in 1884, thirty-eight; in 1886, eighty-three; in 1888, one hundred; in 1890, one hundred and seven.

October 22, 1888, it was ordered that thereafter "no high-school commission be granted, except upon a favorable report

in writing to be made to the State Board of Education by some member of the State board who shall visit the high school in question as a committee of the State board for that purpose. That all high schools now in commission be visited by committees of the board as soon as may be, and that the present list be modified by the reports of such visitors." A commission may be refused or withdrawn upon evidence that the actual requirements of any high school are below this minimum standard, or that, for any reason, instruction is inadequately performed. The university engages to admit all students who present proper certificates, but holds itself under no obligation to retain any one who fails to show himself qualified to continue the work. The Freshman year is regarded as a period of probation.

Various attempts have been made to secure an agreement upon and the adoption of a uniform course of study for the high schools of the State, similar to the plan for the rural schools. But only indirect good has so far been accomplished. Nevertheless, the courses throughout city high schools are far more uniform than formerly, and partly as a legitimate result of the attempt of a quarter of a century to adjust the relations of secondary schools to the university.

All this development of secondary education, respectable both in completeness and character, has been in Indiana a very natural outgrowth of the popular demand. With abundant legal grounds for existence, there is nevertheless nothing in the law directly providing for such an institution as the high school. It has no statutory existence. What most States have achieved by positive enactment, either compulsory (as in most New England States) or optional (as in the central West), Indiana has attained under the popular will. Almost five hundred schools of more or less complete secondary courses, in cities and towns and townships, in direct line from the elementary schools, and fitting for the higher studies, occupy well-defined places in the common system. For all these, however, there is no legally pre-

scribed curriculum, no fixed standard of qualifications for high-school teachers, no statutory relations with the university, no authoritative supervision of secondary schools, no system of separate, trustworthy statistical reports.

For the honorable position which such schools occupy in Indiana the people are indebted to the State board, whose indefatigable and self-imposed services have contributed most; to associations of teachers and college men; to local boards and superintendents; and to the people, whose generous support alone has made such success possible.

But high schools in Indiana have had their opponents, as in other States. Some of the objections offered are the following:

(1) The State which educates for citizenship only has no right to offer more than a primary education. To which Indiana, by her institutions, has replied that, as citizenship in a republic involves a possible making of good laws, as well as the patriotism to obey and defend them, the State is under obligation to educate for the larger responsibility no less than the smaller.

(2) The high school being patronized by the few only, it is unfair to levy a general tax for its support. The "few" here mentioned are sometimes the rich, to furnish a schooling for whom, which they can not share, the poor object. Elsewhere and again it is charged that the common high school is needed for those only whose parents are unable to provide such schooling privately, and the well-to-do protest against being compelled to maintain for the improvident an expensive system of which they themselves reap no benefit. It may be said that no tax, for whatever public work, is general in the sense that all equally share its benefits; light-house and other coast defenses, the United States naval and military system, expensive highways and State improvements, public benevolences, and an elaborate State and national judiciary—all touch directly but a minimum of subjects. Together they take millions of public money, freely and wisely given. How much more freely should the most

liberal education be supported, that shall lessen the need of defenses and make an intelligent participation in public privileges more general!

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE COMMON SCHOOL SYSTEM (Continued).

10. School Text-Books.

WITH all the advantage of modern school device and the improved educational doctrine, it is still difficult for most persons, even teachers, to consider the curriculum apart from the texts used. That it was even more so in the early history of our schools may be easily understood. Geography began to be taught when there were geographies. In like manner, grammar, and speller, and reader, and arithmetic even, were identified with the text. The possession of few books dignified their service. Proficiency in a branch meant the mastery of its text, as it does not now, even among the most mechanical teachers. Teaching was synonymous with fixing the words and meaning of the author.

"The old school-masters," says a recent Indiana writer and former teacher,* "placed great stress on spelling. Twice a day the whole school stood up and spelled 'for head.' A half-day in every week was given to the spelling match. Night spelling-schools were of frequent occurrence. Every scholar was kept hammering away at the spelling-book as long as he went to school, and there were few schools in which one or more pupils had not the book by heart. The words in the elementary spelling-book were written rhythmically, and it was no hard matter to commit by rote whole columns of words. This book was used as a reader also. In some schools, after a pupil had learned to spell sufficiently

* D. D. Banta, in Schools of Johnson County.

well, he was set to pronouncing the words at sight. After he was able to readily pronounce all the words in the book, he was deemed sufficiently advanced to begin reading." Another writer and teacher also adds his testimony to the American Spelling-Book as a valuable piece of property, "for it was to most pupils the only text-book in spelling, reading, geography, grammar, and moral philosophy." But even before Webster's Speller there was also used in the schools, especially in northern Indiana, the Dilworth Spelling-Book, to be found fifty years ago, as it had been for a hundred years before in the East and in England, from which were taught reading and grammar as well as spelling, and which held its own for a generation even against Webster and the later Elementary Spelling-Book.

Reading, while next in importance to spelling in the early elementary school, and the condition of all other subsequent work, had a less well-defined course and was less systematically pursued than almost any other subject. Readers—books compiled or written to teach reading—were few, and graded texts none, until well on toward the middle of the century. Among the earliest books so used was the English Reader, and, a little later, a more elementary text, the Introduction to the English Reader, and a supplement called The Sequel to the English Reader. These, with Prof. Bingham's Columbian Orator, were almost the sole books of the kind until the publication of P. B. Emerson's series about 1840, and the McGuffey Eclectic series soon after. Except the last, these were all issued from the East, but had large sales in Indiana also and elsewhere in "the valley." No mention has been seen of Bingham's American Preceptor, much used in New England, though it was, perhaps, not unknown here also.

But learning to read was not dependent upon reading books. Whatever gave practice in calling and interpreting words was accepted as a text, and made an instrument in teaching. Better than they knew, perhaps, those old-time masters were justifying the principle that "things to be done

shall be learned by the doing"; to the application of which principle also modern pedagogic art is returning in the more systematic introduction of "supplementary reading." In most elementary, and very elementary, schools, the New Testament and Psalms, with other portions of the Bible, were set as common texts; books of annals and travels, dream-books, essays, Pilgrim's Progress, the Lives of Revolutionary Heroes, etc.

About 1825 there was published a set of books called "Torrey's Series," comprising seven volumes, as follows: (1) A primary spelling-book (18 pages); (2) Familiar Spelling-Book (120 pages); (3) Pleasant Companion for Little Boys and Girls, comprising stories chiefly (144 pages); (4) A Mental Museum for the Rising Generation—tales and fables (131 pages); (5) the same, Vol. II, treating of natural history, the universe, etc. (180 pages); (6) the same, on moral and political philosophy (316 pages); and (7) The Moral Instructor and Guide to Virtue (300 pages). The series, as is obvious, was chiefly devoted to reading, was sold for two dollars, and somewhat extensively introduced into northern and central Indiana, and particularly into private and denominational seminaries.

Among arithmetics, Pike's was, perhaps, the earliest in the State, as it was one of the first used in this country. It added to its exercises in calculation a somewhat extended Introduction to Algebra, and was much used in the older counties and private seminaries. In places, however, even from the start, it was compelled to share the public patronage with Dilworth's School-master's Assistant, for which, and for other arithmetical texts, the author was better known than for his speller, although the latter was more used in the State. Among all the texts on arithmetic, however, employed in the schools, Warren Colburn's First Lessons in Mental Arithmetic, published in 1821—of which Prof. George B. Emerson said (1842): "It is the only faultless school-book we have"—did most to improve the teaching of arithmetic, if it was not most used in our schools. The

book for many years had an average annual sale of 100,000 copies in the United States, and half as many in Great Britain. It was Pestalozzian in its method, clear in its arrangement, and set the standard of best arithmetical teaching for half a century.

The first knowledge of the earth was gained from the spellers and readers. No text in geography appeared in the United States until that of Jedediah Morse, issued in 1784, which had but a limited use in Indiana. It is mentioned in some of the older courses, but soon gave way to a more elementary text by Sidney Morse (1823), and to a far better and more rational one by W. C. Woodbridge and Mrs. Emma Willard in 1822. Other early texts used were Parley's, Smith's, Olney's, Cummings', etc.

Of grammars, though less used and generally badly compiled, there were manifold texts. From Murray's—the progenitor of them all—or Smith's, through Kirkham, and Oram, and Bliss, and Pinneo, and Frost, and Brook, and Ross, and Wells (all more or less used in the State), one traces a pioneer period of book-making that served every other purpose but that of the teacher, and effected nothing else so little as acquaintance with and skill in the use of English. The early English grammar, imitating the standards of classical training, was sometimes an admirable book—but a poor school-text.

The State board's adoptions, in 1853 and subsequently, have been elsewhere named. And while they were very generally introduced as recommended, many other books were also used. Samuel Hannah, who was *ex officio* Superintendent of Common Schools, included in his official list of the books used in 1849, besides those already named, Smiley's Arithmetic and Comstock's and Draper's Philosophies. Upon opening the public schools in 1853 the school trustees of Indianapolis, having advised with Prof. Hoss, President Lynch, and others, adopted for their schools Denman's speller, Webb's and Parker's readers, Stoddard's arithmetics, Butler's grammar, McElligott's Young Analyzer, and Willard's his-

tory of the United States; but one book on the list (Butler's grammar) being among those recommended by the State Board of Education. Cobb's readers, Paley's history, and Talbott's arithmetics were also in use about the same time, as were Clark's grammar and occasional copies of Dwight's Catechetical Geography.

11. The Selection of Text-Books.

Prior to 1853 there was no legislation in the State upon the subject of the selection or introduction of text-books. In that year it was enacted that the adoption or recommendation of uniform school-books should rest with the newly created State board. As has been noted elsewhere, books were recommended, but uniformity was not reached. For thirteen years the deliberations of the board went on, but no approximation to any common series was had. In 1865 all laws upon the question were repealed. Without specific jurisdiction the trustees of the several townships assumed to control the selection, doing so until the creation of the County Board of Education in 1873, when the duty was assigned to that body, as follows: "The change of text-books . . . shall be determined by such board, and each township shall conform as nearly as practicable to its action," providing at the same time against any change oftener than every three years, except by the unanimous vote of all the members of such board. By the Legislature of 1877 the period of adoption was made six years. Books once adopted were required to be used; local officers were left no option. The law aimed at both permanence and uniformity. Cities were exempted from this provision concerning the adoption and use of text-books. But it applied to incorporated towns as well as villages and townships.

By act of the Legislature (March, 1889) the law was again changed. The act of 1873, with its revisions, sought and secured uniformity in each county only. The new law required uniformity throughout the State. It was radical and mandatory. Its essential provisions were as follows: The

State Board of Education was made a Board of School-Book Commissioners, who were empowered to contract for the furnishing of books for use in the public schools in the eight legal branches. The maximum prices at which these should be furnished were fixed by law as follows:

Spellers.....	10 cts.	Complete Geography.....	75 cts.
First Reader.....	10 "	Elem. English Grammar....	25 "
Second Reader.....	15 "	Complete English Grammar.	40 "
Third Reader.....	25 "	Physiology.....	35 "
Fourth Reader.....	30 "	History of the United States.	50 "
Fifth Reader.....	40 "	Intermediate Arithmetic....	35 "
Complete Arithmetic.....	45 "	Copy Books..... each,	05 "
Elementary Geography.....	30 "		

The law was made applicable to every school corporation in the State, in each of which the school trustee, or trustees, should certify to the County Superintendent the number of each kind of book needed; who shall thereupon make requisition to the State Superintendent, and he to the contractor for the goods. The books must be delivered to the County Superintendent, and by him to the school trustees, who are the agents for their sale in the various localities. Returns for sales are made to the County Superintendents, who are required to settle with the contractors. Immediately adoptions were made of readers, arithmetics, geographies, and writing-books. A supplemental act was passed March 5, 1891, requiring two books in physiology—a primary and an advanced—the price of the former being fixed at thirty cents and that of the latter at sixty cents; and making the maximum price of the United States history sixty-five cents. Under this law the Board of Commissioners, in May, 1891, adopted books for the remaining subjects.

12. General Statistics of Common Schools.

The following paragraph and the accompanying table have for their purpose to exhibit the growth of the common-school system, so far as the information can be had, since 1855, practically from its organization under the new system.

For various reasons, most of which are obvious, the earlier statistics are neither complete nor always reliable. For equally good and apparent reasons, however, the figures of the department have been made the basis of all the tables. But where errors were found, the later official revisions have been substituted for those originally published. Touching a few, and sometimes vital, phases of the system, and its growth in particular lines, as the internal administration, the length of the average school period for each child, etc., the data are almost wholly wanting :

Table of Elementary Schools.

ITEMS.	1855.	1860.	1865.	1870.
1. Population.....	.....	1,850,428	.....	1,680,637
2. School census.....	452,124	512,478	552,244	612,069
3. Enrollment.....	206,994	303,744	413,374	462,527
4. School term.....	61	65	66	97
5. Teachers (male).....	3,000	5,691	4,964	7,104
6. Teachers (female).....	1,000	1,666	4,349	4,723
Total.....	4,000	7,357	9,313	11,826
7. Expenditures.....	\$500,000	\$824,643	\$1,338,540	\$1,474,000
8. Salaries (male).....	\$23 76	\$26 00	\$31 00	\$37 00
9. Salaries (females).....	\$16 84	\$17 20	\$20 50	\$23 40
10. Taxables.....	\$300,000,000	\$455,000,000	\$567,000,000	\$662,000,000

ITEMS.	1875.	1880.	1885.	1890.
1. Population.....	.....	1,978,362	.....	2,192,404
2. School census.....	667,736	703,558	740,949	770,723
3. Enrollment.....	502,362	511,263	504,520	512,955
4. School term.....	130	136	129	130
5. Teachers (male).....	7,670	7,802	6,720	6,780
6. Teachers (female).....	5,463	5,776	6,534	6,498
Total.....	13,133	13,578	13,254	13,278
7. Expenditures.....	\$1,921,085	\$4,491,850	\$5,218,999	\$5,572,124
8. Salaries (male).....	\$42 40	\$37 20	\$44 60	\$44 40
9. Salaries (females).....	\$38 20	\$35 20	\$36 80	\$40 20
10. Taxables.....	\$898,000,000	\$729,000,000	\$794,000,000	\$783,000,000

In general, it may be said that along with most changes of the system and modifications of its organization has gone improvement also. That it has not been uniformly so will appear in the sequel.

Along with an increase of seventy-five per cent in population, there has been an addition of seventy per cent to the school census, and a like growth (sixty-nine per cent) in the school enrollment. The length of the school term has been doubled. Whatever criticisms of the system become

necessary, let it not be forgotten that in the extension of school privileges, in the public respect for education, in the growing money investments, and the multiplication of the appliances of teaching, Indiana has made marvelous advances, and has more than held her own in the sisterhood of States, for twenty years.

The ratio of the school census to the total census remains, after more than thirty years, practically the same. The records of 1860 show thirty-eight per cent of the entire population entitled to school privileges. Five years later the entrance age was raised from the fifth to the sixth year. In 1870, however, the enumeration was thirty-six per cent, and in 1890 thirty-five per cent. That is, in a population of something less than two and a quarter millions, there are three quarters of a million school-children. Or, to put it historically, while the population of the State has increased by nearly three fourths, the school enumeration shows a growth of nearly seventy-one per cent.

This is a greater ratio than is found in the older States, and may be expected to be diminished in Indiana as institutions age and the population becomes more settled. The present condition emphasizes the relative newness of the State. Her institutions are in the process of making. Educationally, she has scarcely passed her pioneer period. In the achievements of that period, Hoosiers may well take pride.

Along with this growth of seventy-five per cent in population and seventy-one per cent in school census, there has been an increase in school enrollment of a fraction less than sixty-nine per cent. In 1860, of every one hundred children between six and twenty-one years of age, fifty-nine were in school; in 1870, seventy-five and a half per cent; in 1880, seventy-two and six-tenths per cent; and in 1890, two thirds only of them. The ratio of school attendance seems to be diminishing. It is not at all certain that the discrepancy is one of fact. The legal mode of taking the enumeration; the basis upon which, semi-annually, the revenues are apportioned; the absence of any control or knowledge of non-

public school agencies; and the wish to augment the localities' share of the general resources—have led, in twenty years, to considerable abuses in the way of "padded" returns. And, judging from instances of known exaggeration of the census summaries, it seems quite probable that the discrepancy is chiefly one of figures.

Besides, as the State becomes older, and industrial interests more pressing, there is an increasingly large body of youth in the later teens enumerated, but no longer really to be counted as eligible to the common-school attendance. The better the system, the sooner, within limits, will such candidates for the trades be worked off and graduated into business life.

The lengthening of the school term has been going on since the establishment of the system, but in its positive form belongs almost wholly to the period since 1870. Prior to that time the public session (there were supplementary, subscription or private schools) was seldom more than four months, and for fifteen years had averaged but three—three months of school, nine months of vacation! The average for the year mentioned (1870) was ninety-seven days. This, in five years, had increased to one hundred and thirty days, or six and a half months. Since 1865, inclusive, the average term has been 115.5 days; and for the last twenty years (1871 to 1890), one hundred and twenty-five days. Never has the average for the State reached seven months. Six times only it has gone beyond one hundred and thirty days.

Even this shortness of term, however, is not in itself cause for alarm. A six-and-a-half-months school in each of a thousand townships would justify congratulation. The danger appears when it is remembered that this one hundred and thirty days represents an average and not a minimum. Taking the statistics of 1886 as typical of the success of the system in recent years (the length of the term was one hundred and twenty-nine days), forty-eight counties are found to have had less than the average amount of schooling by almost a month. Six of these counties averaged but

ninety-six days, or less than five months. One county (the lowest) reported but ninety days, and another, within fifty miles, one hundred and eighty-nine days, presenting a difference of five months! Indeed, for ten years the average difference between the two extremes of longest and shortest terms, as found in the several counties, is eighty-five days, or four and one fourth months!

Under a Constitution that concedes the beneficence of a diffusion of knowledge and learning through a community, and requires the establishment of a "general and uniform system of common schools" for the entire State, it is, to say the least, unfortunate that such differences are possible.

Another interesting, but far more encouraging, movement has been going on during these same years in the change of the teaching force. Against fifty-eight pupils to the teacher in 1855, and fifty-three in 1860, the average enrollment for the last twenty years has been less than thirty-eight to each instructor. The modern requirement is a dual one. Pupils must be managed in classes, but instruction must be individual. Along with the development of the graded courses and the class system has gone a corresponding movement toward lessening the classes and appealing to the individual, which has worked out a relatively larger teaching force.

Again, in 1855, the public schools were chiefly in charge of men, one fourth only of the teachers being women. By 1870 the number of the latter had more than quadrupled, and they held forty per cent of the places. In 1880, forty-two per cent were women; in 1890, forty-nine per cent. As illustrating the dependence of one set of institutions upon others in the same society, it is worthy to note that the most rapid change of the teaching body in this respect came during and just following the civil war. Men were drawn from the class-room and schools, as they were from shop and office and farm, to fill up the soldier ranks. The beneficence of the influence of woman in the school-room could now be urged, and was urged, with telling effect. In primary

and advanced elementary and secondary schools women began to be recognized. Their employment was, very naturally, first in the cities. It so remains, indeed. In the fifty-eight cities reporting to the State Department in 1888 there were 1,832 teachers, of whom less than fourteen (13.9) per cent were men. Of the 1,001 teachers in the incorporated towns (86) of the State, a somewhat larger proportion were male; but even here sixty-three teachers in every hundred were women. From which it appears that, excluding the 1,832 teachers in the cities and the 1,001 teachers in the towns, there remain 11,369 teachers, or three fourths of the whole number, in the district and township schools; and of these, fifty-seven per cent are men. That is, in the cities, eighty-six per cent of the teachers are women; in towns, sixty per cent; in the rural districts, forty-three per cent. In the State as a whole it remains as it was in 1888—that less than one half of the teachers are women. It may be interesting to know that Indiana is the only Northern State reporting more male than female teachers. Among neighboring States it appears that Michigan employs for her teachers three fourths women; Illinois, two thirds; and Ohio, fifty-four per cent. Throughout New England, eighty-six per cent are women; in Pennsylvania, sixty-two per cent; in New Jersey, seventy-nine per cent; and in New York, eighty-two per cent.

Salaries have nominally almost doubled. For 1855 official figures fix the monthly wages of male teachers at \$23.76, and of female teachers at \$16.84. For 1890 the salaries appear as \$44.40 and \$40.20, respectively, the former having been raised eighty-seven per cent, the latter nearly one hundred and thirty-nine per cent. But it must be considered that wages under the earlier policy were, in general, exclusive of board. "Boarding 'round" certainly had its disadvantages, but it left the year's salary untouched. And "\$25.00 per month and board furnished" then was perhaps quite equal in purchasing power to \$40.00 per month now, if out of this one's board must be taken. "Boarding 'round"

was a convenient way in a pioneer settlement of increasing the wages of the teacher in a needy line.

The figures given, once more, include all the school corporations. It is a State average to be considered, and covers very diverse conditions. The centers of wealth and population are grouped with the towns and villages, and the very unequally situated, but always more or less sparsely settled outlying districts, and, in thought, the aggregate salaries shared equally among them. But it is evident that this represents no concrete fact. While in cities the average compensation for men is \$75 and in towns \$60, in the townships it is but \$41.80. For women the showing is even less satisfactory. From \$50.40 in cities and \$42 in towns their salaries fall in the districts to an average of \$37.20 per month. In 180 townships in the State, or in one sixth of the whole number, the average salary of male teachers is less than \$35. The same statement is true of women for one fourth of the townships of the State. Moreover, in 100 townships the wages of women teachers average less than \$1.50 a day, and in 43 townships men taught the public school for an average of \$28 per school month, representing an income of about \$1.04 for each of the working days in the entire term. The reports of six counties, all in north-eastern Indiana, show, for the year 1887-'88, an average salary for male teachers, including every township, of \$32.53, and for female teachers of \$27. But this is not the only coloring to the picture. In fourteen counties the average salary of male teachers in the townships exceeds \$45. In Hendricks, Howard, Marion, Posey, and Tippecanoe it is above \$47. In a dozen counties women receive \$43 or more for work in the district schools.

Upon the whole, notwithstanding meager salaries here and there, there has been substantial advance. Not every teacher now is better paid than formerly. Along with the increased resources for maintaining the schools have come higher standards of teaching efficiency, and more exacting requirements. The employment of teachers becomes more

and more discriminative. Exceptional ability is paid for— attracts the pay. He who invests little in his preparation and shows but average skill allies himself with mediocre wages and a shifting patronage. Recognition does not always come where it is deserved, nor when, to individuals; but it does to the body of teachers. The business of educating the community is taking its rightful place—slowly, perhaps, but surely—among the interests of all cultured communities.

Concerning expenditures for education, it will be seen that, although the tax valuation has barely doubled since 1865, the disbursements for schools have almost quadrupled. From the money point of view, few States are doing more for education than Indiana. Commodious and comfortable and attractive buildings have been gradually substituted for the old-time cabin and box house, the most approved materials are used in their construction (more than a third of the buildings are brick or stone), and modern methods of heating and ventilating and lighting are being rapidly introduced. Together these represent a present investment of \$14,000,000. Besides these, the apparatus and general appliances for instruction are estimated to be worth, including school libraries, not less than a million dollars. The suggestions of these items in the table will bear study.

13. The Certifying of Teachers.

Along with all the attempts to establish school systems during the first period, not only was the popular standard of qualification for teachers low, but the mode of official selection was loose and in every way wanting in respect. It was scarcely improved for the first ten years under the new law of 1852. These defects have been mentioned elsewhere and call for no further treatment here.

Not until 1865 can it be said that the examining and licensing of teachers received the systematic and dignified consideration to which its importance entitled it and the needs of the schools demanded. The branches upon which

applicants were required to be examined were now first specified and the length of licenses fixed. There were four grades of certificates—for six, twelve, eighteen, and twenty-four months, according to the examination. This classification of licenses remained practically unchanged until 1883, when the eighteen months' license was discontinued, that for six months made a trial license, and provision made for a three years' certificate.

Since the first called meeting of the Examiners by Superintendent Hoshour, in 1862, the mode and standards and conditions of the best certificating of teachers have been perennially considered by everybody concerned with the execution of the law. In 1871 the Board of Education, always solicitous for the improvement of the schools and aggressive to that end, began the monthly preparation of questions upon the legal branches, "sending printed copies to the examiners of the several counties with instructions to use them in the examination of teachers for the public schools." The use of the questions is in nowise obligatory, but is nevertheless practically universal.* It has elevated the general average of the examinations, unified the work throughout the State, given added authority and stability to this part of the system, tended to make the test relatively more professional; and, with the hearty co-operation which the movement has received from county superintendents, individually and in convention, has had the effect sensibly to dignify the educational interest.

But along with this system of the local examination and licensing of teachers for service in their several counties has been developed also a form of certification by the State Board of Education to apply throughout the State.

The beginnings of this movement were in the revised school law of 1865, providing for the granting of life licenses to teachers who "may, upon a thorough and critical exami-

* For a statement of the abuse of this State policy in certain counties, see Superintendent Bloss's Report, 1882.

tion, be found to possess eminent scholarship and professional ability, and shall furnish satisfactory evidence of good moral character." Immediately an act of the board required that the applicant for State license (valid for life) should have had thirty-six months' experience in teaching, ten months of which time must have been spent in Indiana; should show a high degree of proficiency in the theory and practice of teaching; and should give evidence of an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the branches (six at that time) required by law: physiology and history of the United States; elementary algebra and geometry and the first principles of natural philosophy; physical geography and elementary botany; the elements of rhetoric and mental and moral science; the Constitutions of the United States and of Indiana; and the State school law. The first persons so licensed were Thomas Charles, William A. Bell, H. S. McRae, Charles Hewitt, Hiram J. McCombes, Ebenezer Tucker, Sarah Paxton, and Miss A. A. Clement.

In 1871 the board provided for two grades of State certificates. The second or lower-grade license omitted from the test all physical science except natural philosophy, all higher mathematics, and substituted for rhetoric the art of composition. To the former requirements there were also asked of the candidate for a first-grade certificate, proficiency in general history and zoölogy. The present order allows but one grade of life license, requires forty-eight months' experience, and includes in the subjects of examination, besides those previously mentioned, English and American literature; and may include Latin, German, and other branches, at the option of the applicant.

Besides these, the law of 1883 provided for a "professional license," valid in any part of the State and good for eight years. To this test any one is eligible who holds two successive licenses each for thirty-six months, the examination being prescribed by the State Board of Education and conducted by the County Superintendent, the papers being graded and the license finally issued by the State board.

CHAPTER XXV.

SCHOOL REVENUES.

So much of the State's school moneys as is made by law a permanent principal, held or invested for purposes of education, is known as the "School Fund." It may be augmented, but may not be diminished, the counties being held liable for its preservation. "School revenues," on the contrary, include all moneys from whatever public source expended upon the schools, or which may by law be so expended. As the permanent fund may not become revenue, so no part of the revenue becomes permanent fund. If by any means the moneys to which a county or township or city is entitled in the management of its schools are not used, they are held, and may be invested for the subsequent benefit of the county, the whole afterward being available for revenue in said county.

1. Kinds of Revenues.

Of the revenues available for the schools, a part are derived from the locality, as local taxes and liquor licenses, or from invested funds that have been held to belong to the township, as the Congressional Township Fund. These are local revenues, and are managed wholly by local officers in the interest of local schools. Another, but somewhat larger, part comes from State taxes, the interest on the Common School Fund, and certain moneys, as unclaimed fees, which, though collected by the locality, are turned into the State treasury. The latter are apportioned by the State authorities, while the former are managed by the county officers.

As already implied in the previous paragraphs, a portion of the revenue for schools is derived from interest on permanent invested funds. These include moneys held by the counties as parts of the Common School Fund, and by townships as the Sixteenth Section Fund. The remainder of the revenue, with inconsiderable exceptions, comes from taxes

annually levied for school purposes on the property of taxpayers, the former, or the interest on invested school funds, being but about one eighth of all the revenues expended upon the schools.

Another distinction that must be made is between tuition revenues and moneys for building and other such purposes. Taxes were legalized and other moneys set apart for the erection of school-houses, their furnishing and appliances, as early as the law of 1824; and not until later, and then meagerly, was provision made for the payment of tuition. Under the present law all school revenues are "revenues for tuition," except the special school tax levied by school trustees for building and furnishing. Teachers' salaries are paid from the former, all other expenses being met from the latter. The former are partly State and partly local; the latter only local. Moreover, the special school revenue is derived from taxation alone; neither State nor local permanent funds may contribute their proceeds for building. Primarily the locality has been held to supply the building; except for the period from 1854 to 1867 it has also supplemented the State and school-section revenue for tuition.

Finally, there must be discriminated revenues as (1) fixed and (2) variable. Under the first will be included all interest on permanent funds, whether county or township, and the proceeds of tax levies; the property list being known, the annual rate represents a calculable assessment. To the latter belong all contingent moneys set apart for expenditure upon schools, such as the unclaimed fees from clerks' and justices' dockets, turned into the State treasury, and the local liquor licenses, expended in the municipality where assessed and collected, both variable and uncertain. These furnish annually under the present laws about \$400,000 of the more than \$5,000,000 expended upon the public schools of the State.

Of all these, the most important distinction to be made is that between State and local revenues.

2. Sources of Revenue.

The total present Common School Fund is \$7,290,065.21. This is now all held by the counties; and not for the principal alone, but for six per cent interest thereon, the counties are made liable to the extent of their share of the trust. This yields \$437,404, which is paid annually into the State treasury and thence applied by official apportionment to the support of the schools.

The Congressional Township Fund comprises the proceeds of the sales of the school sections, and is managed by the county auditors. The interest upon this sum, now \$2,494,105.35, at six per cent, amounts to \$149,846.32, appropriated to the schools through the county auditor and treasurer and the township trustee. Besides this interest on the invested fund of the townships, there remain the rents of the school sections, which are managed by the township trustee, the income paid into the county treasury and held as township revenue for schools. The total revenue from the school section, including both interest and rentals, is about \$200,000; indeed, since 1876 the average annual income from this source has been more than \$190,000.

Prior to 1852 the State had never voted a dollar of tax for the general support of its schools, nor a single appropriation; but, as if to atone for the long neglect, section 1 of the act of June 14, 1852, provided "that there shall be annually assessed and collected, as the State and county revenues are assessed and collected, first, on the list of property taxable for State purposes, the sum of ten cents on each one hundred dollars" for the support of schools. It meant a radical reform. This rate was unchanged for thirteen years; but the aggregate State revenue was increased in 1855 by adding to this provision a fifty-cent poll tax, assessed and collected as the other, and for school purposes. Notwithstanding the revenues were considerably increased by this change, the school moneys were yet all too meager for the demand, and in 1865 the rate was raised to sixteen cents, and has been so continued since.

For the first ten years of this State school policy the general tax had been less than \$350,000, or about eighty-seven and one half cents per year for each child. With the change in the law, however, the total annual revenue from the sixteen-cent property tax and the fifty-cent poll tax greatly increased, and in 1870 had exceeded a million dollars. For the last twenty years the proceeds have averaged more than a million and a quarter annually. For 1890 it was \$1,436,000.

As early as 1837 the law had authorized a local tuition tax, similar to the building tax, depending upon the vote of the district, and not to exceed one fourth of one per cent on the value of the property listed. Even this could not be enforced upon or collected from one who did "not participate in the benefits of the school funds"—i. e., patronize the school. Essentially the same provisions were made by all subsequent laws, including that of 1849.

But in 1852 section 130 authorized the voters of any township, at any general or special meeting, "to vote a tax for the purpose of . . . continuing their schools after the public funds shall have been expended, to any amount not exceeding annually fifty cents on each one hundred dollars of property and fifty cents on each poll." Exactly similar privileges were granted to incorporated cities and towns, except that no limit was specified; but they should have power, "by a vote of the qualified voters of the corporation or by an ordinance, to levy taxes for the support of their schools after the public funds shall have been exhausted."

The former provision in favor of the townships was, by the Supreme Court in 1854, decided unconstitutional; but the latter was left untouched. Over-bold, perhaps, by being let alone, the cities in 1855 secured the passage of an "Act to authorize the establishment of free public schools in the incorporated cities and towns of Indiana, as follows: 'That the several incorporated cities and towns of this State be, and they are hereby, authorized and empowered to establish and support public schools within their respective corporate

limits, and by an ordinance of such corporation to levy and collect such taxes as may be necessary from time to time for the support thereof.'” This was a sweeping concession to the centers of population, slipped through the Legislature as a sort of challenge to the Supreme Court, inasmuch as what was unconstitutional for the townships touching local taxes could seem to have little claim for favor in the cities.

By the Supreme Court,* in 1857, this section also was held to be unconstitutional, as had been the like provision for local taxation for tuition purposes in the townships three years before. For ten years in the cities and incorporated towns, and for thirteen years in the townships, then, all provision for local taxes for tuition were expunged from the statutes, and prohibited by the courts. The localities might provide the houses and their furnishing, but the payment of tuition by taxes belonged to the State alone.

By the act of March 9, 1867, however, as has been elsewhere recounted, the former provision was restored for all school corporations as follows:

“SEC. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That the trustees of the civil townships, the trustees of incorporated towns, and the common councils of cities, shall have the power to levy annually a tax not exceeding twenty-five cents on each one hundred dollars of taxable property, and twenty-five cents on each taxable poll; which tax shall be assessed and collected as the taxes for State and county revenue are assessed and collected.

“SEC. 2. The funds arising from such tax shall be under the charge and control of the same officers, secured by the same guarantees, subject to the same rules and regulations, and applied and expended in the same manner as funds arising from taxation for common school-purposes by the laws of this State; *Provided*, That the funds assessed and collected in any civil township, incorporated town, or city, shall be applied and expended in the same civil township,

* Judge Perkins, January 22, 1857.

incorporated town, or city, in which such funds shall have been assessed and collected."

Under this act the first taxes distributed were in 1873—an aggregate for the counties of more than half a million dollars, or nearly twenty-five per cent of the total tuition revenue for the year. For the entire period since it has averaged more than \$800,000, and for the last five years more than a million dollars, being more than one third of all tuition expenditures for the period.

For many years the unclaimed fees went, or were supposed to go, to the augmenting of the permanent fund. Since 1861, however, they have been added to the common-school revenue, turned over with other moneys to the State treasury, and apportioned by the State Superintendent to the counties, as provided by law. How much accrued to the permanent fund from this source in the years from 1842 to 1861 can not now be estimated; but from the latter date, when the fees were made revenue, to the present—a period of nearly thirty years—they have aggregated about \$200,000, four fifths of which have been realized within the last five years.

Table of Unclaimed Fees since 1864.

1864.....	\$433 86	1878.....	\$1,388 04
1865.....	280 76	1879.....	1,095 03
1866.....	584 59	1880.....	454 55
1867.....	1,286 87	1881.....	666 42
1868.....	1,038 02	1882.....	2,010 35
1869.....	1,249 75	1883.....	1,451 81
1870.....	451 01	1884.....	608 87
1871.....	985 46	1885.....	56,710 80
1872.....	500 38	1886.....	43,249 14
1873.....	7,193 72	1887.....	
1874.....	2,503 93	1888.....	20,883 07
1875.....	2,601 66	1889.....	23,094 39
1876.....	912 11	1890.....	43,393 11
1877.....	1,961 95		

It was first provided, by an act of March, 1859, that any one wishing to sell intoxicating liquors in less quantities

than a quart at a time must take out a traders' license, paying for the privilege, and annually thereafter fifty dollars, to be expended in the support of common schools. The policy was reindorsed by the law of 1875, and by succeeding laws, the proceeds being turned into the year's revenue of the county and expended for tuition. In the quarter of a century of these collections more than four million dollars have been realized from this source, the annual income having more than quadrupled in twenty years.

Table of School Revenue from Liquor Licenacs since 1863.

1863.....	\$44,184 00	1877.....	\$193,107 00
1864.....	51,750 00	1878.....	169,238 00
1865.....	78,415 00	1879.....	193,512 00
1866.....	84,225 00	1880.....	
1867.....	76,500 00	1881.....	196,333 00
1868.....	80,000 00	1882.....	260,397 00
1869.....	89,258 00	1883.....	279,886 00
1870.....	81,700 00	1884.....	100,017 00
1871.....	99,800 00	1885.....	208,454 00
1872.....	108,280 00	1886.....	318,472 00
1873.....	40,213 00	1887.....	331,257 00
1874.....	35,000 00	1888.....	344,343 00
1875.....	217,562 00	1889.....	390,071 71
1876.....	199,612 00	1890.....	397,176 06

From the inception of the State school system, local taxes for building purposes have been legalized. Indeed, it has been the policy of the State, uniformly maintained, to leave all building to the localities, and to prohibit the use of general funds for the furnishing of all or any material supplies.

By the law of 1824 the means for building was chiefly the labor of householders. The provisions of the act of 1837 were somewhat more complicated, but of like significance, any freeholder or householder being at liberty to pay an assessed tax for building either in money, in labor (at fifty cents a day), or in materials of equal value, or stand subject to suit by judgment before a justice of the peace. But no

person should be held liable for more than one fourth of one per cent per annum on his property. A money tax for building was rare.

No considerable change appears in the subsequent legislation prior to 1849, when it was left to the qualified voters of a school district to vote such a tax for these purposes as the majority might deem proper. It was also provided that an additional levy might be made for tuition purposes to extend the public term, but both taxes should not exceed in any one year fifteen cents on each one hundred dollars' worth of property. The year following, however, this limit was made, for certain counties,* twenty-five cents on each one hundred dollars and twenty-five cents on each poll.

By the law of 1852, also, no distinction was made between taxes for building and taxes for continuation of schools—that is, tuition—but the aggregate should not exceed fifty cents on each one hundred dollars of taxable property and fifty cents on each poll. Of course, it must be noted that the important fact is not the increase of the rate, but that the raising of the moneys was now made a function of the township, not the district.

Three years later, the right to local-tuition taxes being denied by the Supreme Court, all local taxes became building taxes, and were reduced to a twenty-five-cent property tax and fifty cents on each poll for townships, cities being empowered “to levy and collect such taxes as may be necessary from time to time” for the like purpose. It was held to be the imperative duty of the township trustees to levy taxes for the erection of as many school-houses as would be sufficient to accommodate all the children in the township. In case of refusal, they might be compelled by legal process.

This provision was reaffirmed in the act of March, 1861, and the proceeds, first called a special school tax, being applied alike to cities, incorporated towns, and townships. But the levy might now be made upon the judgment of the trus-

* Those not assenting to the law of 1849,

tees themselves, and needed not, as before, the concurrence of the county commissioners. By an act of 1873 the building tax was doubled, the rate being a fifty-cent property tax and a poll tax of one dollar. This provision is still in force, reading as follows:

"The trustees of the several townships, towns, and cities shall have the power to levy a special tax in their respective townships, towns, or cities for the construction, renting, or repairing of school-houses, for providing furniture, school apparatus, and fuel therefor, and for the payment of other necessary expenses of the school, except tuition; but no tax shall exceed the sum of fifty cents on each one hundred dollars' worth of taxable property, and one dollar on each poll, in any one year, and the income from said tax shall be denominated the special school revenue."

*Table of Special School Revenue since 1865. Local Building Tax.
1865-1890.*

1865.....	\$424,646	1878.....	\$1,585,942
1866.....	666,672	1879.....	1,168,367
1867.....	854,762	1880.....	1,076,444
1868.....	1,050,139	1881.....	1,017,159
1869.....	1,073,006	1882.....	1,135,359
1870.....	1,164,356	1883.....	1,334,879
1871.....	1,174,333	1884.....	1,461,257
1872.....	1,375,233	1885.....	1,545,740
1873.....	1,577,978	1886.....	1,586,064
1874.....	1,733,785	1887.....	1,589,306
1875.....	1,699,198	1888.....	1,588,910
1876.....	1,825,816	1889.....	1,719,039
1877.....	1,625,833	1890.....	1,777,598
		<hr/>	
		\$35,031,471	

Of this tax the State—i. e., the townships, towns, and cities—has collected and expended in permanent improvements and furnishings in twenty-five years \$35,000,000: \$1,400,000 annually, or more than \$1,000 yearly to each of the school corporations of the State. The value of apparatus, for which in part this special revenue has gone, has increased

from nothing at the birth of the system to more than three quarters of a million in 1890, and the money put into permanent investments, in the way of school properties, aggregates \$14,217,912, or ten times what it was but a generation ago.

All State taxes, interest on the common school fund, and unclaimed fees collected are paid into the State treasury. The aggregate of all other revenues available in the counties is reported to the State Superintendent, who, on the fourth Monday in May and on the first of January, "apportions the whole sum * to the several counties of the State, according to the last enumeration of children therein, . . . without taking into consideration the revenue derived from the Congressional Township School Fund."

One copy each of this apportionment list is filed with the Auditor of State and the Treasurer of State, and one copy with each of the county auditors, the county treasurers, and the county superintendents. Immediately upon the receipt of this official advice and apportionment, by which every child in the State shares equally with every other in these revenues, the auditor of each county makes "apportionment of the school revenue to which his county is entitled to the several townships and incorporated towns and cities of the county, which apportionment shall be paid to the school treasurer of each township and incorporated town and city by the County Treasurer."

"In making the said apportionment and distribution thereof, the auditor shall ascertain the amount of the congressional township school revenue belonging to each city, town, and township, and shall apportion the other school revenue so as to equalize the amount of available school revenue for tuition to each city, town, and township, as near as may be according to the enumeration of children therein, and report the amount apportioned to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, verified by affidavit; *Provided, however,* That in no case shall the income of the Congressional Town-

* Less \$10,000, apportioned to the State Normal School.

ship Fund belonging to any congressional township be diminished by such apportionment, or diverted, or distributed to any other township."

The policy indicated grows out of (1) the local instead of State management of the school section, and (2) the separation of the two funds by Supreme Court decision in 1853. The injury to the schools is counteracted by the "equalization"; but the policy involves a complicated book-keeping, and is objectionable.

The constitutionality of this method of apportionment was affirmed by the Supreme Court in two cases brought from Johnson County in 1855.*

All school revenues are managed by the school trustees.

The local tuition tax is levied by the civil authorities—i. e., by the trustees of the civil townships and the incorporated towns and by the common council of cities; the common school revenue, including the State tax and unclaimed fees, is apportioned by the State Superintendent; all local taxes are assessed by the auditor and collected by the treasurer of the county interested, and the combined revenues are distributed, as given elsewhere, to the several townships, towns, and cities by the auditor. But no funds are used except under the authority of the school trustee or trustees.

The following table will serve to show, with fair accuracy, the amounts of the several revenues constituting the school resources for each year since 1863, and the approximate total expenditures for those years. The history of the State bonds covers the twenty-three years only from 1867 to 1889, inclusive; and that of local tuition taxes since 1872 only. In a quarter of a century the State has put a full hundred million dollars into her public schools, forty millions of which have come from taxes, either State or local. It is worth noting, in passing, that liquor licenses have furnished over five million dollars of this total revenue:

* Decisions rendered June 11, 1856, and June 16, 1856, the former by Judge Perkins, the latter by Judge Gookins.

Table showing Growth of School Revenues since 1864.

YEARS.	STATE REVENUES.					LOCAL REVENUES.					TOTALS.
	Taxes.	County revenues.	State bond interest.	Fees.	State indebtedness.	Miscellaneous.	Delinquencies.	Liquor licenses.	Congr. twp. revenues.	Local tuition.		Special school.
1864.	\$492,325	\$90,416	.....	\$438	\$50,000	.....	\$53,350	\$51,750	\$153,278	.....	\$424,646
1865.	551,399	97,673	.....	281	50,000	.....	54,782	78,415	154,683	.....	666,673
1866.	910,585	111,435	.....	1,585	50,000	.....	24,000	84,225	150,044	.....	854,762
1867.	987,843	98,885	\$150,827	1,286	40,574	.....	117,228	78,500	150,000	.....	1,102,441
1868.	864,548	97,639	302,025	1,038	50,000	.....	23,865	89,258	154,447	.....	1,150,000
1869.	897,568	108,710	313,025	1,250	50,000	.....	91,588	81,700	146,549	.....	1,230,997
1870.	1,012,358	101,815	213,079	451	50,000	.....	35,750	93,809	144,781	.....	1,300,000
1871.	1,051,439	112,650	223,741	985	.....	.....	6,800	105,280	146,980	.....	1,268,927
1872.	1,070,902	160,840	223,741	500	.....	.....	27,388	40,218	98,988	\$330,668	1,517,898
1873.	1,190,937	189,455	224,065	7,194	.....	.....	27,388	35,000	110,153	829,023	1,649,870
1874.	1,448,246	176,738	224,287	2,504	.....	\$6,266	92,998	.....	176,142	768,142	1,892,099
1875.	1,377,588	192,272	224,287	2,602	.....	24,164	.....	217,562	183,190	734,202	1,925,179
1876.	1,440,698	198,050	224,287	912	.....	5,658	.....	193,612	186,418	648,858	1,804,947
1877.	1,494,350	203,839	224,287	1,963	.....	864	.....	183,107	186,302	602,469	1,855,943
1878.	1,456,354	209,325	224,287	1,868	.....	Less 5,853	.....	169,512	196,248	589,093	1,564,536
1879.	1,519,792	213,132	224,287	895	.....	.....	.....	172,324	178,973	611,536	1,461,891
1880.	.....	.....	224,287	455	.....	.....	.....	256,020	184,305	625,843	1,452,832
1881.	1,442,286	221,155	224,287	666	.....	.....	.....	259,295	184,448	673,077	1,272,718
1882.	1,394,770	197,312	224,287	2,010	.....	.....	.....	290,397	190,166	684,069	1,454,559
1883.	1,574,232	227,102	224,287	1,820	.....	.....	.....	279,896	192,066	806,415	1,534,549
1884.	1,408,113	223,051	224,287	1,234	.....	.....	.....	308,454	202,390	910,016	1,545,740
1885.	1,416,884	242,554	224,287	56,710	.....	.....	.....	318,472	196,544	977,063	1,596,054
1886.	1,448,447	242,554	224,287	43,249	.....	.....	.....	318,472	197,748	974,452	1,589,806
1887.	1,462,889	240,000	224,287	20,593	.....	.....	.....	331,267	197,748	974,452	1,589,806
1888.	1,462,889	218,102	224,287	20,593	.....	.....	.....	331,267	197,748	974,452	1,589,806
1889.	1,462,889	225,000	224,287	.....	.....	.....	.....	331,267	197,748	974,452	1,589,806
1890.	1,462,889	454,289	Transferred to the county by act of 1889.	.....	.....	.....	.....	331,267	197,748	974,452	1,589,806

Transferred to the counties by act of 1899.

CHAPTER XXVI.

LIBRARIES.

ONE of the most promising of educational agencies—one dangerously seductive to the unthinking, but that may be made fruitful of good also, though generally poorly understood—is the library. It can be easily made available to the school and the home, to the young and the old, as a supplement to lessons and formal teaching, and as a university in itself. Schools have scarcely begun to use books as their all-sided helpfulness suggests, and the opinion is yet not infrequent that they belong—except texts—to the after-school period.

The chapter is written with the thought present that libraries are as legitimate a part of the State's equipment of education as are schools and teachers, universities, and laboratories.

1. The Beginnings.

The first libraries, perhaps, among any people are private ones. Public sentiment is but the uppermost, and in general the fittest, individual sentiment taking on accepted form. Neighborhood, class, society, church, subscription, circulating, and loan libraries soon follow. As early as 1807 Vincennes had record of a small library, which within ten years had grown to 700 volumes. Among its incorporators was General W. H. Harrison. The library is still in existence, and has some 2,000 volumes.

Among these first libraries, semi-private, was that of the New Harmony Community, from 1825 to 1840. The collections of the Owens and the Maclures, while held for many years as private, were yet freely put at the disposal of the reading public. In 1838 was formed the "Workingman's Institute and Library." It received liberal donations of property, and money, books, and works of art, and was fairly endowed. In 1846 the village was visited by Sir Charles Lyell, the eminent Scotch geologist, who in his notes speaks

flatteringly of the community's museum, library, and art collection, and the general intelligence of the place. The library still remains.

2. County Libraries.

The earliest State provision, however, for libraries in Indiana was section 5, in the article upon Education, in the Constitution of 1816. It provided that "the General Assembly, at the time they lay off a new county, shall cause at least ten per cent to be reserved out of the proceeds of the sale of town lots in the seat of justice of each county for the use of a public library for such county; and at the same session they shall incorporate a library company, under such rules and regulations as will best secure its permanence and extend its benefits." After the original incorporation it was required that seven trustees should be chosen by popular vote of the citizens of the county annually. Later, also, it was provided that the county commissioners might appropriate yearly not less than twenty nor more than seventy-five dollars for the increase of the library. By the law of 1852 the clerk, auditor, and recorder were given the library in charge, and made trustees for that purpose. Every inhabitant of the county, under specified conditions, was entitled to use the books.

Immediately upon the passage of the original act, libraries were established in Dubois, Pike, Ripley, Randolph, Lawrence, Vigo, Vanderburg, Spencer, Monroe, Clark, Daviess, Sullivan, Perry, Crawford, and other counties. That is, they were legalized; some of them were opened. But money was not plenty, books were expensive, and a pioneer life offered few readers and less leisure. The reservation of the tithe was not always made; in some instances it seemed not to have been officially reported, in others the funds merely lay unused. At best, the amount of income prior to 1852 was not great. Of the libraries established, most were either closed finally through neglect, or merged, in later years, with more prosperous organizations. A few remain.

The Monroe County Library was regularly incorporated December 31, 1821, and is still in existence and considerably used, as are a few others. It has about 2,000 volumes, has a small income, and receives occasional additions. It has really done a valuable service to the community.

In 1847 the Marion County Library had, as reported, about 600 volumes. The first books had been purchased three years before. At the time of the organization of the township libraries (1854) it comprised a large collection of well-assorted books, was open on Saturday to the people of the county, and had \$2,500 of invested funds. By 1867 there were 2,100 volumes, 132 subscribers, and the library had an assured income of \$275 a year. This has been perhaps one of the most successful libraries of the kind in the State. It has now over 5,000 volumes, exclusive of maps and legislative and political documents, a reserve fund of \$2,000, and receives annually from the county commissioners an appropriation of \$75.

The Delaware County Library formed the nucleus of the present public library of Muncie.

Other acts modifying the management of these libraries were passed in 1824, 1838, 1845, and under the new law of 1852. The original features in general remained.

In 1875 eleven counties made returns, including statistics concerning this class of libraries, three only reporting funds yielding an aggregate yearly income of \$1,218. Nearly 13,000 volumes in the aggregate were reported, but with an inconsiderable circulation, and few additions being made.

3. School District Libraries.

In an elaborate act of the Legislature, in 1837, school districts that had supported schools for at least three months in the year were authorized to raise, by a majority vote of the resident householders and freeholders of the district, a tax, not to exceed twenty dollars in any one year, for "a library for the use of the children, teachers, parents, and guardians," to be managed by the district trustees, and with

the district treasurer *ex officio* librarian. The same act provided further that a part, not to exceed one fourth, of the public-school moneys in the township treasury might be also set apart for the establishment of a library, or for the increase of a library once begun. The privilege was reaffirmed by an act passed in 1841.

No mention is made of the matter in subsequent legislation, and no record is preserved of any such library—or, at most, of any that survived. The motive was good. But there were few schools, and even less means for their maintenance. Libraries were luxuries, and even school comforts were wanting in the districts.

4. Township Libraries.

The township library system was a direct outgrowth of the original idea of one library for each school; just as the township organization superseded the earlier local administrative policy. As late as 1850 Prof. Mills's notion included no more (no less?) than a library in each district—a modification only of the provisions of the law of 1837. In the fifth address submitted to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly his masterly appeal for public libraries makes no mention of township control of them, though there is every reason to believe these formed in his thought an integral part of a State-established and State-controlled system.

Such plan, however, can not seem strange or inexplicable. A half dozen States had already established libraries under permissive legislation, notably Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island among the New England States, and New York and Ohio—all before 1850, and all dependent more or less upon the local district sentiment. New York took the initial step in 1835, but revised the law upon a liberal scale three years later, appropriating from State funds \$55,000 annually, but requiring the districts to raise each its share of a like amount. By 1852 there were reported more than a million and a half of volumes, or about one hundred and

fifty volumes to each school, at a cost of a million and a quarter of dollars.

Almost without exception, in the neighboring States, the laws were permissive only. Moneys so appropriated to libraries might be diverted to other uses, local authorities were left, generally, to select their own books, and local interests allowed to interfere with their maintenance. As a result, even under the most favorable considerations, libraries languished, books were lost, and interest diminished. The experience of a dozen other States prior to 1852 was an emphatic word of warning to Indiana touching the management of school libraries.

The new law—June 14, 1852—required that there should be assessed, collected, and paid, after the manner of State and county revenues, a tax of a quarter of a mill on each dollar of property taxable for State purposes, and twenty-five cents for every person liable to pay a poll tax for State purposes, the tax to be continued for two years. The proceeds were to be applied exclusively to the purchase of township school libraries, under the direction of the State Board of Education. The moneys were turned into the State treasury, and expended only upon order of the State department.

A study of the undertaking discovers two interesting characteristics:

First, the library was a township affair; not a privilege of the district. The basis of the distribution was to be at first the population, afterward changed to the school enumeration of the township. The manager and responsible officer was the township trustee. Its location was fixed by the voters of the township. Its housing and shelving were a township obligation. The librarian was one of the three trustees of the township, or a person appointed and employed by them.

But the library was also, and not less, a State enterprise. It was provided for under a general law. The privileges of its possession and use were not optional even with the township. The books were purchased by a State tax. Through-

out the State the selection was uniform, and the basis of distribution common. The duties of the trustee were prescribed, and reports required to the general office. In this was the promise of the most wholesome administration. It was the one feature in the law that hinted at permanence. Here, in the absence of local caprice, or fluctuation, or ignorance, with a control—responsible control—there was a chance for the exercise of a generous policy. It was meant that libraries, like the common schools, for the children of the State, should be maintained by the property of the State. The richer sections were to have no advantage over the poorer. Each child was expected to enjoy his share of the proceeds in the general distribution.

This was the theory. How far the ideal was missed will appear in the sequel. By the revision of 1855 some minor modifications were made, and the tax, collected for two years, after being suspended for a period, was reincluded for a single levy. Under the former provisions, out of an assessment of \$186,327 there was collected all but about one thousand dollars; by the second assessment \$90,000 were realized—more than a quarter of a million dollars in the aggregate, ninety-five per cent of which went to the purchase of books.

An analysis of the plan of administering the law reveals some peculiar features.

While it was originally intended, as the wording of the law implies, to provide one library for each township, section 141, as passed, required the distribution of ten libraries to counties having a population of 15,000 inhabitants and upward; eight libraries to counties whose population was from 10,000 to 15,000; and in counties of less than 10,000 inhabitants, six libraries. It is obvious that while the distribution was meant to be equitable as to population, it was far from uniform as to townships. In seven counties only were the number of libraries, under the first distribution, and the number of townships the same. Ten counties had each more libraries than townships, and eight more libraries than all school corporations, including, besides townships, incorpo-

rated towns and cities. In seventy counties they averaged less than one to each township. For the State, 690 libraries were distributed to 938 townships. Incorporated towns and cities were generally ignored, except as they might be made convenient places of deposit for the including township.

Under the first distribution were sent out 221,490 volumes, or 321 volumes to each of 690 libraries. No juveniles were included for children under twelve years of age. About three tenths of each collection were supposed to be children's books; the remainder were for youth and the mature. The law itself prohibited the inclusion of sectarian books. Of works upon agriculture there were 9,000, or almost 100 to each county in the State. Each library was given a copy of Barnard's School Architecture, and later also another known as the Pennsylvania School Architecture.

Although one third of the books were set apart for youth, a careful examination of the list serves to discover very few—a much smaller proportion, indeed, than, upon the most liberal construction, could be regarded as adapted to the use of children under fifteen years of age. There were the Rollo books and other stories by Abbott, pioneer sketches, Mary Howitt's delightful pictures, a few plainly told stories of travel, some biographies, Bonner's United States, and occasional volumes on science, especially natural history, familiarly written. But the number was small compared with those for older minds.

The list on history and biography is particularly complete and satisfactory. Almost no great name is omitted. The selection was standard and remains so. Macaulay, and Hallam, and Robertson, and Guizot, and Grote are supplemented by Bancroft, and Lossing, and Prescott; Schoolcraft, D'Aubigné, and Knight; Headley and Hildreth; Frothingham, Neal, and Thiers. Sparks, in American biography, and Abbott had noble company in Brougham, Gilfillan, Irving, and Young, besides many of less note.

Of travels there were offered Taylor and Frémont, rich in the mysteries of two continents; Lynch and explorations

on the Dead Sea; Wheeler's Herodotus, Spalding's Japan, and Perry's expedition; Schoolcraft among the Indians; Lewis and Clarke on the Frontier; Stansbury on the Great Salt Lake; Kane in the Arctic regions; and Durbin in Europe.

Many books also were bought in sets. Besides Abbott, already mentioned, there were the complete works of Dick, Irving, and DeQuincy; the Cabinet Histories of the States (12 vols.); translations of the Greek and Roman classics (28 vols.); the annuals of scientific discovery up to 1857; Sparks's American Biography (20 vols.); Hawthorne's Stories and Tales; Littell's Living Age (50 vols.); and Jardin's Naturalists' Library (40 vols.).

The fact that, notwithstanding its name, the township library was not for schools alone, explains in a measure the wide range of the selections. Teachers even had a liberal allowance of professional or semi-professional literature. As indicating something of the amount and character of such literature forty years ago, the list is here inserted: Page's Theory and Practice of Teaching, The Teacher and Parent, The Daughter at School, My School and Schoolmasters, Mann's Lectures on Education, The Teachers' Miscellany, Todd's Student's Manual, Olin's Educational Lectures, Barnard's National Education, Abbott's The Teacher, Barnard's Normal Schools, Hall's Lectures on School-keeping, Thomson's Educational Essays, Mansfield's American Education, Mortimer's College Life, The District School as it Was, Eliot's Harvard College, Abercrombie's Intellectual Powers, Wayland's Intellectual Philosophy, and Upham's Philosophy.

Such a collection of educational works in every township to-day, selected from current lists, would afford a fruitful means of professional training. This library was doubtless, by many teachers, well used forty years ago. The older teachers still speak with pleasure of the first appearance of The Theory and Practice and the republication of Hall's Lectures, while the first of these, Mann's Lectures on Education, Barnard's works, American Education, and others are

still in print—some of them accepted authorities even now.

Little criticism can be made upon the library as a whole. Every work could doubtless have been justified at the time. The trivial, the vicious, the sectarian, the controversial, were well excluded. There were books for all classes and for all ages—after childhood. But one is forced to question the need or the demand, in a pioneer State, with a school system scarcely two years old, of Macaulay's *Essays* or Hallam's *Literature*—much as they are respected to-day. It is difficult to think there could have been much call for or use made of McCosh On Divine Government, The Modern British Essayists, Kames's *Elements of Criticism*, Duer's *Constitutional Jurisprudence*, or Story's or Kent's *Commentaries*, or Goethe's complete works, The *Logic of Mathematics*, or Plato in six volumes. Yet all these—besides the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* in twenty-nine volumes, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in twenty-one volumes—were bought in quantities and put, if not into every library, into many of them.

In general, it may be said the selection was made from the point of view of scholarly men familiar with great libraries, not from the experience of the readers of the books.

The Superintendent's report for 1855 showed a total catalogue in the libraries of 333,379 volumes, 150,000 of these having been added during the year.* In some townships the circulation of books was six, eight, and even ten times the entire number in the library. They were well used. St. Joseph County, having 2,600 books, reported a township circulation among readers of nearly 21,000. Where books were most read the system had best support. With all its disadvantages, it was generally regarded by the people as a means, both legitimate and efficient, for diffusing knowledge; a supplement to the school; an agency of so large service for good as to be deserving of a permanent place in the educational system.

* See Fifth Report, p. 125.

But with the levy of 1855 the tax for libraries ceased and the books began to be less used. Within five years 15,000 volumes had disappeared, and none were added. It was the old story of neglected interests, the more than unbusiness-like management of a promising institution. For the purpose of replenishing the libraries the Legislature in 1865 restored the levy, making it one cent on the hundred dollars, but repealed the section the year following, after a single collection and a second levy. The assessment for 1866 yielded something over \$41,000 and was expended in books. That for the year following, upon the recommendation of the State Superintendent—Prof. Hoss—was diverted to the building fund of the State Normal School, then in process of erection. It was argued that all parts of the system were in urgent need of money—the two revenues and the State Normal School particularly—but, inasmuch as “there are in some sections of the State doubts whether the library system, as at present managed, quits cost,” it seemed wise to take more time for experiment and investigation before putting additional money into it.

By September, 1866, the books in all the libraries numbered but 265,388; the readings but one third as many. By reason of the additions made from the tax of that year, the list was increased again to 282,892, the readers being almost doubled. Six years later there were 268,086 volumes; within ten years more they had been diminished by 40,000 volumes. For the year ending July 31, 1887, but 185,368 volumes were reported, with 89,000 loaned. Their use has diminished as support has been withdrawn.

For twenty-five years nothing has been done either to improve the libraries or to utilize the books now owned. Since 1867 no tax for their increase has been authorized, though the uniform interpretation of the law has been that trustees may use a reasonable portion of the township revenue to keep them in proper condition.

5. *Town Libraries.*

As early as 1843 the inhabitants of city, town, or village were authorized, when the sum of fifty dollars had been raised for the purpose, to incorporate themselves as a public library association, with certain specified powers. But such body was purely a private corporation, whose responsibilities and privileges appealed to stockholders alone. Its only public aspect was the legal sanction. In the act of 1852 the privilege was reaffirmed.

Under these laws, for a score of years, libraries were incorporated in various towns of the State, some of them with marked success. Such were the Sigourney Library Society, by the ladies of Logansport (1848), and a similar one in New Albany the year following. The Richmond Library grew out of the Franklin Institute, started in 1824, but was reorganized under this law, as it was again given larger privileges along with the rise of the school system.

Under these laws, however, libraries were no more than private corporations, supported by, and managed in the interest of, the stockholders. They were in places made available to the public through a system of guarantees and limited loans. Indeed, the efficient management of a few of these stock organizations, together with the open field for a larger service, led to the modification and extension of the law.

By act of March 8, 1873—thirty years after the first statutory provision—the law of 1852 was repealed; industrial companies and other voluntary associations were empowered to take stock in such library; and incorporated cities, in order to the purchase of shares, might “annually levy and collect not more than two mills on the dollar of taxable property,” being privileged, at their discretion, to use such shares by distribution and transfer “to the children of the public schools in the city for good behavior and scholarship.” Under this statute libraries were started in a number of the towns and cities of the State, notably Princeton, Muncie, Huntington,

Frankfort, etc. There are perhaps twenty such libraries in the State, in cities of three thousand to ten thousand inhabitants, centers of a wholesome influence, and efficient reinforcements of the public school.

A supplemental act of March 7, 1881, gave the ground for a different form of the public library. (1) It was made the charge of the school trustees and Board of School Commissioners, who were authorized, if in their discretion they deemed it to the public interest, "to establish a free public library in connection with the common schools of such city," and "to levy a tax of not exceeding one third of a mill on each dollar of taxable property," to be used "for the support and maintenance of said public library." (2) It applied only to cities having ten thousand inhabitants or more. This was still further modified, however, two years later (1883) by extending the privilege to "all the cities and incorporated towns of the State." A few cities have taken advantage of this law, and their school boards have greatly added to the effectiveness of the system by adding the library to the other agencies for general public education. In twenty years there have been thirty such organizations. Among city libraries, that of Indianapolis, founded in 1872, is the largest and the best, and most generally patronized perhaps. It has about fifty thousand volumes, and is managed by the Board of School Commissioners. The total volumes in town and city libraries for the State is about one hundred thousand.

6. The State Library.

Besides the local libraries mentioned—district, township, county, town, and city—represented in most other States as well as in Indiana, every State and Territory has its central library also, located at the capital, supported by the State and devoted to general use. Of all public library organizations in Indiana this is one of the oldest. It is a very natural outgrowth of the common civil and political relations of the States. Prior to the admission of Indiana in 1816, at least four States had such fairly well established libraries.

These were New Hampshire, whose first collection antedates the Revolution; Pennsylvania, from 1777; Massachusetts, begun in 1811; and South Carolina, from 1814. All of these, however, but the last, had grown up until 1816, or later, without the aid of legislation. That in New York was established by act in 1818, one in Ohio the same year, and in Illinois the year following. The State Library of Indiana was officially ordered in 1825, in Vermont in 1826, and in Massachusetts the next year. By 1840 twenty-one of the twenty-four States had such libraries.

Their beginnings in other States, as in Indiana, were generally in the necessity of preserving State documents. Along with this went the incidental exchanges of official papers, laws, and reports between the States. The collection, wherever made, was given a somewhat more permanent form by an act of Congress in 1813, ordering one copy of each of its journals and documents to be deposited in the Executive Department of each State. In some States the first collections were at the instance of the Supreme Court, and consisted chiefly of legal works, reports of decisions, legislative acts, etc. In a few States, among which is Indiana, the law library is held as a branch of the general library, has separate apartments, and constitutes the library of the Supreme Court, but is under the same general management. Its books in Indiana number about fourteen thousand.

From its founding until 1841 the State Library was intrusted to the care of the Secretary of State. Being an incident of the office, it was greatly neglected, the entire accumulation in 1841, after sixteen years, numbering but two thousand volumes.

It was then provided that there should be collected annually, and preserved in the library, "duplicate copies of the messages of the President of the United States and of each of the governors of the several States, reports of the different heads of departments of the General and State Governments, of the Committees on Ways and Means of the several States, the reports of the committees of Congress on all gen-

eral subjects, and, not to exceed two copies, of the leading speeches made in Congress on each side of the question on every subject of general interest; also copies of the reports of the proceedings of public societies for the promotion of agriculture, the mechanic arts, history, and literature."

By the same act, also, the librarianship was made elective by a joint ballot of the General Assembly, with a term of three years and an annual salary of three hundred dollars. An appropriation of four hundred dollars a year for the replenishing of the library was made. Under an act of 1852 the term of office was shortened to two years, to correspond with the biennial holding of the legislative sessions, and the salary raised to five hundred dollars. The appropriation for the library remained unchanged until 1889. Since 1841 the laws, the law books, legislative journals, and documents have been by law assigned to separate rooms, as mentioned elsewhere.

In the words of the act of 1852, the library is open to "members and officers of the Legislature, all State officers, judges of the courts of the United States and of this State, attorneys, editors, clergymen, physicians, professors and teachers of literary or scientific institutions, superintendents of public instruction, members of the State Board of Agriculture, officers of benevolent institutions, clerks of the Supreme Court, county clerks, treasurers and recorders, and all other persons who have at any time been entitled by law to the use of such library, and such strangers as the librarian may be willing to intrust with books at his own risk, when any of them shall be at the seat of Government."

The State Library is for reference only, no books being taken from the room except in an official way, and temporarily to other halls in the State-House. But it is, nevertheless, easily available for every citizen of the State who has need to use it, and without needless restrictions. The collection comprises considerable literature concerning Indiana, chiefly gathered within recent years, but nothing like so much, or so complete an exhibit, as every library should

have of its own State. Some valuable additions have been made since 1880 on American history, biography, and politics, agriculture, the applied sciences, and geography; and what is of greater interest, perhaps, to scholars, a really valuable set of maps of America—European publications of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

Among the most valuable parts of the library are the newspaper files. Certain papers are fairly complete for half a century. For many years more than a score of newspapers have been regularly received by the library and filed. These are valuable now, and as the State grows older become more so. For certain facts, and most localities, they are the only printed record of the earlier days. Besides, they trace the life of a people in all its complexity—social, private, institutional, civil, religious, industrial—as no formal treatise is able to do it.

The library contains about twenty-five thousand volumes, exclusive of pamphlets, manuscripts, and maps. Valuable as it is, it has never received more than the scantiest support. Of all the States of this section, in Indiana the library has received least recognition. While Michigan has been making annual appropriations of \$3,000, Illinois of \$2,500, Wisconsin \$2,000, and Ohio \$1,500, Indiana has been working along on \$400 a year. It was given a special grant of \$5,000 in 1889, and has had \$2,000 each of the years since. With meager support, infrequent additions, and insufficient assistance, the usefulness of the library has been greatly diminished. Nevertheless, it is deserving of a far larger patronage than it yet has.

7. Miscellaneous Libraries.

NOTE.—Mention of the college libraries will be found in the chapter on "Superior Institutions."

Besides the libraries already mentioned, there are others of a semi-public or public character, both because of their service and the conditions of their establishment.

William Maclure, who came to this country in 1796 and

to Indiana in 1825, left, at his death in 1840, a considerable estate, \$150,000 of which was by will devoted to the establishment of workingmen's libraries in a number of towns in Indiana, and in some other States. Indiana received \$70,000. The bequest was available to clubs, societies, and institutes maintained for general or membership improvement. These societies must have a corporate existence, have already not less than one hundred volumes in their library, and have established and maintained a reading-room. Among the towns availing themselves of this bequest, most of which yet maintain the libraries in some form, are Attica, Brazil, Connersville, Edinburg, Knightsville, Oxford, Rising Sun, South Bend, Tipton, Vincennes, and Waterloo. There were, perhaps, half a dozen others.

Another kind that acquired a place, but has received far less recognition than it deserves, is the county teachers' library. How many such libraries there are in Indiana is not known. They belong to the last decade chiefly, have been variously originated, and have an equally various maintenance.

All of them, so far as known, are voluntary organizations among the teachers, and managed by or under the advice of the Superintendent of Schools. The resources are constituted by a tax upon the teachers, an examination fee voluntarily imposed, and devoted to the purchase of books; the annual surplus from the County Institute Fund, subscriptions, donations, etc.

"The St. Joseph County Teachers' Library Association," organized in 1884, may be taken as a typical one. The book fund in this county comes from the surplus from the institute fund, and for the last five years has averaged more than one hundred and fifty dollars annually. The library has about six hundred volumes, and reports a circulation double this number. Among the books are included biography, history and travels, essays, poetry, translations of the classics, fiction and general literature, science, works of reference, and about sixty volumes in pedagogy.

As will be seen, they are not merely professional, but are

designed for the use of teachers, looking to their general improvement and discipline, as well as pedagogical furnishing.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE STATE'S SUPERIOR INSTITUTIONS.

"THE history of the colleges of any commonwealth is always an interesting study, as their number and character are a sure index to the enterprise and intelligence of the people. It is a remarkable fact that educational institutions grow downward. Instead of the primary schools coming first, and the academies and colleges growing out of them, the reverse is true. In all countries colleges have preceded lower schools. The ruling classes have always been the educated classes, and just in proportion as the common people have gained the franchise and the right to help rule, have they provided themselves with the facilities for obtaining an education. It is no more true that an army, to be under discipline and to be successful, must have well-educated and well-trained officers, than it is that society, to be well-regulated and prosperous, must have well-educated and cultured law-makers and leaders.

"To reduce generals and colonels and captains to the rank of common soldiers, both in education and position, would presage no more certainly the demoralization and utter overthrow of an army than cutting off all higher education would foretell with certainty not only a halt in the march of civilization, but a speedy return to barbarism. It is as essential to the welfare of a State that its leaders be thoroughly educated as that its voters have a common-school education. In an important sense, then, the colleges are the life of the State." *

* W. A. Bell in *The Schools of Indiana*, p. 188.

The Indiana system for higher education comprises the Indiana University, founded in 1820, and Purdue University since 1867 *—the former including, besides departments of general culture, a course in law; the latter, established under the Morill Land Grant act of 1861, being held to a more specific purpose of fitting for agriculture and the mechanic arts. Both are in direct connection with other State agencies for education, and are essential parts of the public system. Each depends in large measure for its patronage upon the product of these public secondary schools.

1. Indiana University.

It has been elsewhere mentioned that in 1816, by an act of Congress whose provisions were accepted by the people, a township of land was granted to the State "for the use of a seminary of learning." This was to be in addition to the one granted in 1806, and located in Gibson County. The township so appropriated was, upon the recommendation of a committee,† located officially by President Madison as township eight, range one west, being in Monroe County, and then named Perry Township.

By the Constitution no lands granted for educational purposes could be sold prior to 1820. Immediately upon the expiration of this period, however—January 20, 1820—the Legislature passed an "Act to establish a State seminary, and for other purposes." To this end Charles Dewey, Jonathan Lindley, David H. Maxwell, John W. Jenkins, Jonathan Nichols, and William Lowe were constituted a board of trustees. They were authorized to sell not to exceed one section of land, and with the proceeds erect the necessary buildings. Two days later the Legislature provided further a superintendent of the Gibson County lands, who was made

* The State Normal School is generally classed as a part of the system, but, because of its professional character, is elsewhere considered in this volume. See Chapter XXIX.

† Appointed by the convention at Corydon, met to frame a constitution, and consisting of Jonathan Lindley, Benjamin Parke, and James Noble.

responsible for their renting, and for turning the proceeds into the State treasury. Two years later these lands (the Gibson County township, exclusive of the four thousand acres already disposed of) were ordered sold, that the proceeds might be made "a productive fund for the benefit of the State Seminary." It was claimed by the Legislature that the Vincennes University corporation had forfeited its claims to the Gibson County land, and that by the terms of the grant it of right belonged to the newly established seminary at Bloomington.*

The income from rents and the interest from the proceeds of the first sales of lands were paid over to the trustees, and in 1823 the seminary building and a residence were completed at a total cost of about \$3,300. Rev. Baynard R. Hall, a graduate of Union College and Princeton Theological Seminary, was made first principal at a salary of \$250 per year. For three years he was the only teacher, and Greek and Latin were the only branches taught. Among the ten students who first entered—all boys, for girls were not admitted until 1867—was Joseph A. Wright, afterward Governor of the State, and others only less generally known—the Dodds, the Maxwells, and the Dunns.

By the Legislature of 1826 the number of trustees was increased to nine, and the year following the sale of all the seminary lands of both townships authorized, except three sections contiguous to the seminary buildings in Bloomington.

* President E. A. Bryan, of Vincennes University, is authority for the statement that the organization of the board had not lapsed when their lands were taken in 1822, and that instruction was provided for "almost continuously from 1811 to 1824, and long after, though the record ceases there for the time being." Most of the original records are in existence, and would seem to imply that the Indiana Legislature was misinformed as to the suspension of the organization "through the negligence of its members."

These facts have been obtained since the first writing, and too late to correct the proof and original statement (see chap. ii, p. 19), but are gratefully acknowledged and inserted here.

A second instructor was added in May, 1827, in the person of John M. Harney as Professor of Mathematics and teacher of such natural sciences as were thought to belong to a college course sixty years ago. The seminary was growing. Upon the recommendation of the Board of Visitors, the governor in his message, and the president of the Board of Trustees, in 1828 it was raised to the dignity of a college. In the language of the day, it was enacted by the Assembly "That there shall be, and hereby is, created and established a college adjacent to the town of Bloomington, in the county of Monroe, for the education of youth in the American, learned and foreign languages, the useful arts and sciences, and literature, to be known by the name and style of the Indiana College." Dr. Andrew Wylie, then president of Washington College, Pennsylvania, was chosen president of Indiana College, which position he honorably filled for twenty-one years.*

A. THE COLLEGE ORGANIZATION.

Under the new constitution of the college and the vigorous administration of Dr. Wylie, the curriculum was considerably extended and enriched. Throughout the period there were included moral and mental philosophy, political economy, polite literature, the ancient languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, and chemistry. French was added in 1835 to the department of Greek, under the teaching of Prof. A. W. Ruter. A preparatory department was formally organized also with the beginning of Dr. Wylie's administration in 1829.

In 1838 another session of the Legislature chartered Indiana University, as the legal and actual successor of Indiana College, with a board of twenty-one trustees for its management. Among the members of this board were such men as Governor Wallace (*ex officio*), Isaac Blackford, Jesse L.

* The early history of the Indiana College and Indiana University has been faithfully and entertainingly detailed by Judge D. D. Banta, and may be found in the Foundation Day addresses for 1890, 1891, 1892.

Holman, Robert Dale Owen, Richard W. Thompson, Hiram A. Hunter, Samuel K. Hoshour, and others—all men eminent in the State in many ways. The board was made self-perpetuating. But in 1841 the number of trustees was reduced to nine again, no two of whom might be from the same county. Students were exempted from road taxes and militia duty, and the civil courts deprived of jurisdiction over trivial breaches of the peace within the college grounds. Ten years afterward the University board was reduced to eight members, who since 1855 have been chosen by the State Board of Education. Except from Monroe, no two may be from the same county. By the Legislature of 1891 it was provided that three of the eight trustees should hereafter be chosen by the alumni of the institution resident in Indiana; the remaining five by the State board as before.

Upon the reorganization of the institution in 1838 as a university, the subjects of instruction were made to include law and medicine. But the former was not given a department until 1842, and the latter only after thirty-three years. The medical school was the Indiana Medical College at Indianapolis, adopted by the University, having a nominal connection only with it, and no control, for the five years from 1871 to 1876. The law school was contemplated directly upon the organization of the college in 1828, and from its opening in 1842 to its abandonment in 1877 it was one of the most successful of all the departments, graduating three hundred and thirty-six students, against three hundred and sixty-four sent out from the college of liberal arts for the same period. Connected with it at various times were Judges McDonald, Hughes, Bicknell, Perkins, and Eckels, Colonel J. R. M. Bryant, Hon. D. W. La Follette, and C. F. McNutt. The school, closed in 1877 by the Legislature for want of funds, was reopened in 1889 under Judge D. D. Banta. The course covers two years, of nine months each, has begun an admirable library, and has a full complement of instructors and classes.

By the Legislature of 1852 the trustees were ordered "to

establish a normal department for instruction in the theory and practice of teaching," which was done, and the school kept open until 1857. The direction was equally mandatory upon the board to establish an agricultural department, but nothing seems to have been accomplished in this direction, and no very vigorous effort made prior to 1865, when Dr. Nutt and friends of the University sought to have the congressional grant of 1862 for agricultural and mechanical training conferred upon Indiana University. By the donation of Mr. Purdue the Federal grant was diverted to Lafayette for a separate institution.

Lieutenant Jacob Ammen, a graduate of West Point, was in 1839 made assistant in the department of mathematics, and began at once, voluntarily, the organization of a military department, which was kept up during his connection with the University (1839-1843), and perhaps a little longer. The interest was revived in a more systematic way in 1869 under Major-General Eli Long, with an extended course, including tactics, out-post duty, military engineering, and science of war. General Long, being recalled by the War Department after a year, was succeeded by Colonel James Thompson as Professor of Military Science and Engineering, whose work gradually lost the military character, and in 1875 was merged into a school of engineering.

For sixteen years—from 1861 to 1877—the State geologist was by law a member *ex officio* of the faculty of Indiana University, and the connection, though a formal one only, so appears in the catalogue. Prof. Richard Owen, the first officer, was succeeded by E. T. Cox, the two being the only men sustaining such official relation.

B. UNIVERSITY FUNDS.

As compared with many other superior institutions, few State universities can be said to be richly endowed, in the sense of having a large reserve fund, whose income is assured for its support. On the other hand, no other educational institution is so liberally endowed as that which has a State's

property millions pledged by an organized public sentiment to the maintenance of its wants.

Indiana University has an interesting history in respect to its finances, though not greatly differing from other similar schools. Section 12 of the University charter (1838) re-enacted the earlier provisions concerning the congressional land grants in favor of the Indiana Seminary and Indiana College, devoting the proceeds of the sales of the seminary townships of land in Gibson and Monroe Counties for a permanent fund for the Indiana University. By act of the Legislature, January 22, 1822, the sale of the seminary township in Gibson County (or so much of it as remained) was ordered, the proceeds to be turned into the State treasury, "that it might be made a productive fund for the benefit of the State seminary."

Under this act about seventeen thousand acres of the Gibson County tract were sold, and the proceeds (something more than twenty-two thousand dollars) accredited to the institution at Bloomington. In 1840 there still remained two thousand four hundred and eighty acres unsold. The aggregate proceeds from the sales of the Monroe County lands, closing in 1840, going into the permanent fund were near forty thousand dollars.

In 1845, twenty-three years after the closing of the school, the Vincennes University trustees entered a claim to title in the Gibson County lands and to the proceeds of their sale, and suit was brought in the Marion Circuit Court to test the question. Samuel Judah appeared as attorney for the claimants, and O. H. Smith and G. G. Dunn for the State. After a decision in the local court, an appeal to the State Supreme Court, and thence to the Supreme Court of the United States, a judgment was rendered in favor of the Vincennes organization to the amount of \$66,585, for which the Legislature was authorized, February 13, 1855, to issue bonds.

Six years before, a joint resolution was passed by the Indiana Legislature requesting the State representatives in Congress to procure from the Federal Government a dona-

tion of four thousand acres of land in the Miami reserve, for the use of the Indiana University in lieu of that amount previously sold by the trustees of Vincennes University from the Gibson County lands. Such additional grant was made July 12, 1852, to the amount of 4,166 acres, which yielded finally some thousands of dollars additional.

On April 9, 1854, the main university building was burned, including the library. The laboratory, the preparatory building, and the boarding hall only remained. This, with the loss of sixty thousand dollars of their endowment by the adverse decision touching the proceeds of the Gibson County lands, gave little encouragement for the future of the institution.

Immediately, however, upon the decision of the Supreme Court, the University trustees, through the Legislature, applied to Congress for an indemnity for the loss of the Gibson County land. The appeal was heard, and a grant of 22,040 acres made, which, being sold, yielded about \$80,000. The aggregate land donations received by the University, therefore, through Federal grant were as follows: (1) The Monroe County township—the original seminary grant—21,254 acres, yielding \$39,743; (2) the unsold Gibson County land appropriated in 1822, 19,009 acres, from which were realized \$24,500; (3) the special indemnity grant of 4,160 acres, to replace that sold from the Gibson County township by the Vincennes University board, yielding about \$10,000; (4) the grant by Congress in 1856 of an additional amount of land in scattered parcels, in this and other States, to replace that lost to the institution through the unfavorable Supreme Court decision, about 22,000 acres, and yielding nearly \$80,000. The aggregate proceeds of the sales of all these lands may fairly be put at \$154,000. Besides these, there was the "college section" in Monroe County, 2,407.38 acres, originally reserved from sale, but which yielded finally \$33,608.72.

Upon the laying-out of the capital of the State in 1821 there were granted to Indiana, for a seat of government, 2,560

acres, among which was what has since been known as "University Square" (in Indianapolis), and set apart for a State college. Several movements have been started to make the proceeds of the lot (about four acres) available toward the support of the Indiana University at Bloomington, but so far without success. It is used as a park for the city of Indianapolis.

The total land appropriations may be estimated at something less than 70,000 acres, the proceeds from whose sales reach nearly \$187,000. The exact returns can not be given. A part or all of the proceeds of the first sales were used in building—i. e., the principal was so used, instead of the accumulated interest, as the terms of the grant required. Two or three times the State Legislature empowered the trustees to expend certain sums in repairs or for apparatus. The books were loosely kept. Some losses occurred in the earlier years, and were not made good, as the law requires in the case of the Common School Fund. The State Auditor's report for 1858 shows the total College Fund to have been then \$77,000, but eighteen years before this the record of the Board of Trustees had included a tabular exhibit, showing \$117,000 of invested funds, exclusive of indebtedness. The present actual showing of productive endowment from this source leaves it something less than \$150,000. The State Auditor's report for 1890 gives it as \$113,367, exclusive of certain lands held.

Indiana University, prior to 1867, had received no aid of any sort from the State. Its revenues, as appears from the last paragraph, consisted of (1) the interest on the proceeds of the lands mentioned, (2) the rents of unsold lands (of these there yet remain some hundreds of acres), and (3) the tuition. Since 1867 certain annual appropriations have been made, increasing in amounts from \$8,000 in the beginning to \$30,000 annually at present for current expenses. But nothing of all this went to increase the permanent fund.

The first positive measures for the endowment of an institution that had sent out more than six hundred graduates

into the State, and to which the Federal Government had then devoted more than fifty thousand acres, were taken in the act of March 8, 1883, "to provide a fund for the permanent endowment of Indiana University and for the endowment of the same." The statute required that "there shall be assessed and collected, as State revenues are assessed and collected, in the year 1883 and in each of the succeeding twelve years, the sum of one half of one cent on each one hundred dollars' worth of taxable property in the State, which moneys, when collected and paid into the State treasury in each of the years named in this act, shall be placed to the credit of a fund to be known as the Permanent Endowment Fund of the Indiana University." For this money as paid in, the State, under specified conditions, issues to the trustees of the University non-negotiable bonds payable in fifty years and bearing five per cent interest.

Under this act the University has in seven years received about \$318,000 as an endowment upon which interest is received semi-annually.

C. ANNUAL INCOME.

Besides the income from the original congressional land appropriations and the revenue from the State endowment just mentioned, the expenses of the University have since 1867 been met in part by legislative appropriations, as noted in the former paragraph. The first payment of \$8,000 was raised to \$15,000 in 1873, and to \$23,000 in 1885. Upon the reorganization of the law school in 1889 an additional allowance was made for current expenses, making the present annual appropriation by the State \$30,000. The total present income from these various sources, including incidental fees from students (tuition in the institution is free), is about \$50,000 per year, averaging something less than \$15,000 per year since 1867, exclusive of special appropriations for buildings and appliances.

D. THE CURRICULUM.

No other historical study of the colleges reveals more marked change than that of the curriculum. It is not less true of Indiana University than of other institutions. Indeed, being among the oldest of the Western colleges, the difference between the old and the new is accentuated. Of the seventy-five colleges really organized prior to 1838, but twenty-six belonged west of the mountains, and two thirds of these were in the Northwest Territory. Michigan University was not opened to students for three years after our own; and of the twenty-six referred to above, five only—Centre College and St. Joseph's in Kentucky, Ohio University and Miami University in Ohio, and Greenville College in Tennessee—were in existence when Indiana Seminary was organized in 1824. The period since that date comprises the principal enlargement of the curriculum, the introduction of optional subjects, parallel courses, the recognition of science as an instrument of culture, and all the train of effects incident to this relatively more humane and individual discipline.

Indiana University has passed through all the phases of college training, from the traditional prescribed classical course to the most liberal curriculum offering two hundred courses in seventeen independent but co-ordinate departments, and each department intrusted to a specialist.

(1) Special Subjects.

It has been mentioned that the first work of the school embraced only Greek and Latin. A course in mathematics and text-book instruction in physics and chemistry were introduced in 1827. Upon the accession of President Wylie, in 1829, there were added by his preference moral and mental philosophy, political economy, and English. Mathematics and science were erected into separate chairs in 1832, engineering being added to the former upon the election of Prof. Ammen. French from 1835 was given a share of attention by Prof. Ruter along with Greek. For most of this

period, indeed during the larger part of Dr. Wylie's administration, the plan of the course was that of one study at a time, each principal branch being taken up in its order and completed before its complement in some other line was undertaken.

Rhetorical readings, essays, rhetoric, and public speaking received more or less attention throughout the course; but it was not until 1860 that the English language and literature were dignified by an independent professorship under Prof. H. B. Hibben. At the same time also a department of the modern languages and literature was formed; soon after (1866) Greek and Latin were given separate chairs, and the year following physics and chemistry, the former with Dr. Wylie, and the latter, including natural science, under Prof. Owen.

The most noticeable distortion in the course, next to the tardy introduction of English, is the long neglect of history in any systematic study. Almost nothing appears in the official schedules prior to 1858, from which time for ten years the Freshmen had a single term of United States history and the Sophomores an equal amount of general history—i. e., about three months annually. For a few years the Juniors, and subsequently the Seniors instead, had a term of text-book study in political economy. When this has been said, little more remains concerning the work in history in Indiana University for the first fifty years. After 1869 history proper appears in the scientific course only. Three years later the Seniors were given a term of the political history of the United States, and in 1875 were allowed to substitute the history of civilization for one term in oratory. From this time United States history was relegated to the Preparatory Department, and the Latin supplemented by a term in Roman history.

The recognition of the claims of historical material came slowly. In 1878 it was resolved to establish a professorship. It was not filled, however, until two years afterward, when John G. Newkirk was elected to the chair. For five years

after this the course seems not considerably extended, though political history is made elective to Juniors. In 1884 the only required history was two terms put into the Sophomore year. These were one term of general history and one upon England and France, with two electives offered for each term of the year. It must be remembered that during all this period of thirty years at least one term annually was given to political economy, and sometimes two. In 1886, under the reorganization of the institution, history and economics were erected into separate departments, supplemented in 1890 by an extended course in American history and institutions.

(2) The Courses.

From about 1855 there had been recognized two parallel courses of study, the one resting upon Latin and Greek and leading to the arts degree, the other grounded in science and something of the modern languages, followed by the degree bachelor of science. Students were at liberty to choose between them. The B. S. degree had, however, been given or offered since 1841 to those who had taken all of the usual course except Greek. The substitutions were not uniform.

Among the changes introduced by Dr. Moss upon his assumption of the presidency in 1875 was an early expansion of the work and its organization into three courses: (1) the ancient classics, B. A.; (2) the modern classics, B. L.; (3) the sciences, B. S. About the same time also there was inaugurated a system of instruction by non-resident lecturers. These included Dr. George F. Barker (1877), Recent Methods in Physics; Dr. J. B. Angell (1878), International Law; Richard A. Proctor (1879), Astronomy (six lectures); Dr. William T. Harris (1880), The Philosophy and History of Education (six lectures); (1881), Pedagogics; and Miss Maria P. Brace (1882), a course of five weeks in elocution. The year following, a chair of elocution was founded permanently and Miss Brace elected to the position. In the year 1886 was organized the Department of Pedagogics.

Modification of the Curriculum in Indiana University, 1850 to 1890.

1850	1860	1870	1880	1890
Single Course	Classical	Course	Ancient	Greek
				Latin
Single Course	Scientific	Course	Modern	Romance
				Germanic
Single Course	Scientific	Course	Scientific	English
				Rhetoric
Single Course	Scientific	Course	Scientific	History (Europe)
				Am. History
Single Course	Scientific	Course	Scientific	Economics
				Philosophy
Single Course	Scientific	Course	Scientific	Pedagogics
				Mathematics
Single Course	Scientific	Course	Scientific	Physics
				Chemistry
Single Course	Scientific	Course	Scientific	Geology
				Zoology
Single Course	Scientific	Course	Scientific	Botany
				Law

In 1885, under the administration of President Jordan, began a still further expansion of the work of the University and the development and encouragement of special courses that put the instruction and training of Indiana University alongside those of many more heavily endowed institutions, not only in the comprehensiveness of the curriculum, but in the co-ordination of subjects and courses and the quality of the work done.

The accompanying diagram (page 365) will serve to make clearer the introduction and subsequent relations of the several courses in the changing constitution of the University since 1855.

E. MUSEUMS, LIBRARIES, AND LABORATORIES.

The first building, erected in 1824, was burned in 1850, together with its contents, including the libraries of the college and the literary societies, and practically all laboratory appliances. The books lost numbered nearly ten thousand volumes, and were replaced with difficulty. Mr. Henry W. Derby, of Cincinnati, presented about a thousand volumes, known afterward as "The Derby Donation"; and W. H. Jones, Esq., of Fort Wayne, over two hundred law books, "many of them folios, some running back to the reign of Charles I, and nearly all referring to old English laws." Occasional larger and smaller annual additions were made to the number from the limited means at the disposal of the trustees, until early in the last decade it catalogued about thirteen thousand volumes. This, with the Departments of Physics and Chemistry, was put into the third college building, then recently erected (1875), but which with all its treasure was burned, with a total loss, July 13, 1883. In the eight years since, the library has grown to more than the size of that burned, and is, upon the whole, a much better working library than either of the two that preceded it. By the Legislature of 1889 an appropriation of \$60,000 was made for a library building, into which more than fifteen thousand volumes have been put, in fairly fire-proof surroundings.

Of museum collections, the State University has had at

times some that were really valuable. Among these were the Owen collection, bought from David Dale Owen, M. D., chiefly geological, and valued at \$50,000, and the Jordan ichthyological collection, destroyed in 1883 (as had been the former) by fire. The geological cabinet has never been replaced; the latter fairly well.

The museum collections include some 1,500 minerals, several thousand fossils, 2,000 skins of mammals and birds for class use, 50,000 specimens representing 3,000 species of fish, 6,000 specimens of insects, and 2,000 marine invertebrates. In the Department of Chemistry the laboratory is the most complete in the State—one among the best furnished in the West. It was fitted up under the personal direction of Dr. T. C. Van Nuys, the professor in charge, occupies the entire first floor in Wylie Hall, has accommodations for sixty-three students, and an equipment of the best modern appliances. Besides a valuable physical laboratory, for much of which the institution is indebted to Prof. Naylor, there has been added within the last three years the nucleus of a good working laboratory for physiological psychology, under the direction of Prof. Bryan.

F. THE PRESIDENTS.

1. Rev. Baynard R. Hall (Principal of Seminary), 1824–1829.
2. Rev. Andrew Wylie (First President), 1829–1851.
3. Prof. T. A. Wylie (Acting President nine months), 1851–1852.
4. Rev. Alfred Ryors, D. D.,* 1852–1853.
5. Rev. William M. Daily, D. D., 1853–1858.
6. Prof. T. A. Wylie (Acting President ten months), 1858–1859.
7. Prof. John W. Lathrop, LL. D., 1859–1860.

* In 1852 the Hon. Henry Barnard, of Connecticut, then President of the State Normal School, was invited to the presidency of Indiana University; but, on account of an accident to himself and the resulting ill health, was compelled to decline the position.

8. Rev. Cyrus Nutt, D. D., 1860-1875.
9. Rev. Lemuel Moss, D. D., 1875-1884.
10. Prof. David Starr Jordan, LL. D., 1885-1891.
11. Prof. John M. Coulter, Ph. D., LL. D., 1891.

2. Purdue University.

Very early in Indiana a concern was shown for an education that should touch the industries of the State, and especially on the side of agriculture. The farmers' academies and manual-labor schools of sixty years ago hinted at this movement in a rude way, but gave rise to no systematic training in either the theory or the art of farming or farm life.

The State, particularly of the Northwest, finding no local means of establishing such industrial schools as the conditions of the section required, appealed to Congress for aid. This movement was initiated by the Legislature of Michigan about 1850. After a dozen years—during which period other States, notably Illinois, joined in petition, the farmers' societies and institutes, local district and State conventions, and Legislatures added their influence—there was finally passed by Congress (July 2, 1862) "an act donating lands to the several States and Territories which may provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts." By its provisions each State was entitled to receive an amount of public land equal to thirty thousand acres for each senator and representative in Congress, under the census of 1860.

States having public lands within their borders might locate their share of land therefrom; to other States land scrip being issued in lieu of lands, the scrip to be sold by the States for the prescribed use.

Section 4 provided "that all moneys derived from the sale of the lands aforesaid by the State to which the lands are apportioned, and from the sales of the land scrip hereinbefore provided for, shall be invested in the stocks of the United States, or some other safe stocks, yielding no less than five per centum upon the par value of said stocks, and that the mon-

neys so invested shall constitute a perpetual fund, the capital of which shall remain forever undiminished, except so far as may be provided in section 5 of this act, and the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated by each State, which may take and claim the benefit of this act to the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college, where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts in such manner as the Legislature of the States may respectively prescribe in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."

By the same act also each State was made responsible for the preservation of the total fund arising from this Federal grant. Ten per cent of the fund might, at the discretion of the Legislature, be expended for sites or experimental farms; but no part of it could be put into buildings in any way or used to meet running expenses; for these purposes the interest only was available. It was provided also that the grant must be accepted within two years and at least one school in each State opened within five years. The donation was accepted by Indiana, April 14, 1864. Having no public lands, the State received the donation in the form of scrip, representing 390,000 acres. From its sale, April 9, 1867, was realized about \$211,195; scrip to the amount of \$207,843, or 98 per cent of the whole, going to one G. F. Lewis, agent for a syndicate of Detroit and Cleveland capitalists.

For a year already educators and public men generally throughout the State had been solicitous concerning the appropriation of the grant and the location of the school. Should the proceeds be used to establish and endow a separate college? Should it be bestowed upon the already established State University? Or should it be divided and distributed to two or more of the existing higher literary institutions?

Frequent communications in the papers early in 1867

urged a separate establishment. One proposed to devote University Square in Indianapolis for that purpose, and the citizens of Indianapolis offered to raise \$100,000 to secure its location. In the Legislature of that year a bill was introduced to locate it upon Tippecanoe Battle Ground. Dr. Nutt, very wisely as it seems and very forcibly, before the Legislature, by lecture throughout the State and in frequent newspaper correspondence, advocated its bestowal upon Indiana University. It was argued that to divide the fund would be to throw it away. Besides, the University could offer to the new interest eleven thousand acres of land yet unsold, the cabinet and museum of Dr. Owen just purchased and valued at \$50,000, a military department already organized, and the beginning of an engineering course that could easily form the basis of the mechanical work of the new school. On the other hand, in the appeals of Ovid Butler, of the N. W. C. University, Dr. Bowman, of Asbury University, and others, the division of the fund found vigorous support.

It was all determined, however, finally, by the offer of John Purdue, of Lafayette, to give land and money for its location near that city, which offer included a donation of \$150,000, to which were added \$50,000 from Tippecanoe County and one hundred acres of land by the citizens of Chauncey to fix its location. Mr. Purdue's gifts have been since increased to more than \$200,000. The farm comprises one hundred and eighty acres, which, with buildings and equipments, is valued at about \$350,000. Its permanent productive endowment aggregates as much more, invested in a five-per-cent Indiana State bond. These means of support have been supplemented by annual legislative appropriations of \$10,000 to \$60,000, representing a total State appropriation since the organization of the school of about \$400,000.

As at first organized, the University comprised four special and co-ordinate schools: (1) The School of Natural Science, including Physics and Industrial Mechanics, Chemistry, and Natural History; (2) The School of Engineering, compris-

ing Civil and Mining Engineering and Architecture; (3) The School of Agriculture, including Theoretical and Practical Agriculture, Horticulture, and Veterinary Science; and (4) The School of Military Science. From this simple though comprehensive organization sixteen years of experience have worked considerable change, while maintaining the same general plan. The institution now embraces six special schools and a preparatory department.

1. A School of Agriculture, Horticulture, and Veterinary Science.

2. A School of Mechanical Engineering.

3. A School of Civil Engineering.

4. A School of Science.

5. A School of Industrial Art.

6. A School of Pharmacy.

7. A Preparatory Department.

In addition to these schools and as supplementing the work in agriculture, there was established in 1879 the Purdue Experiment Station, which was given surer footing and a larger service through the congressional appropriations for such purpose to all the States in 1887. The act of March 2 provided that the contemplated "Experiment Stations" "should conduct original researches, or verify experiments, on the physiology of plants and animals; the diseases to which they are severally subject, with the remedies for the same; the chemical composition of useful plants at their different stages of growth; the comparative advantages of rotative cropping as pursued under a varying series of crops; the capacity of new plants or trees for acclimation; the analysis of soils and water; the chemical composition of manures, natural or artificial, with experiments designed to test their comparative effects on crops of different kinds; the adoption and value of grasses and forage plants; the composition and digestibility of the different kinds of food for domestic animals; the scientific and economic questions involved in the production of butter and cheese; and such other researches and experiments bearing directly on the

agricultural industry of the United States as may in each case be deemed advisable, having due regard for the varying conditions or needs of the respective States and Territories."

To this end Congress makes, under the provisions of this act, an annual appropriation to each State of \$15,000. Partly, as a result of this encouragement, thirty-six stations are now sustained in thirty States.

Since March 12, 1877, each board of county commissioners in the State has been authorized to appoint two students to the University who shall be entitled to free tuition each in any department therein. Not more than two students may be admitted from any county at the same time under these conditions. From one fourth to one third of the membership in the institution belong to this class.

The first president of Purdue University was Prof. Richard Owen; but he resigned in March, 1874, before the formal opening of the school to students, which occurred the following autumn. He was succeeded by A. C. Shortridge, who remained for one year; and he, after a few months under the management of Prof. John S. Hougham as acting president, by Dr. E. E. White, who remained until 1883. The present president is James H. Smart, who succeeded Dr. White upon his resignation, as above.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

ONE distinguishing mark of the present century touching educational matters is the established policy of the State to extend the privileges of intellectual and industrial training to all classes. To a generation yet living indeed belongs the credit of initiating the movement for really universal education. That schools are not for the wealthy alone, or for the ruling classes, or the males, or the whites, or the nor-

mally constituted, or the moral, or those who have leisure, or the capable, but for the defective, the wayward, the feeble-minded, the improvident, the dependent as well, for any individual or class, whom any sort of education may help on the way toward an independent fruitful, happy life, is a comparatively new thought to the world.

1. *Deaf-Mute Education.*

When the Indiana deaf-mute school was authorized by the Legislature in 1844 there were but seven such institutions in existence in the United States—one each in Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, and Virginia—the product of thirty years of public sentiment. Schools for the blind came even latter, the first in this country being the Perkins Institute in Boston, founded in 1832, Indiana following in fifteen years (1847), prior to which six other similar institutions had been opened in as many States, three of them being in the West. Both the Institute for Deaf Mutes and that for the Blind in Indiana are located at Indianapolis. Each is managed by a board of trustees, and has its special superintendent. The former enrolls from three hundred to four hundred; the latter half as many. And each is supported by special annual legislative appropriations.

In the Deaf-Mute Institution there are two departments—the educational and the industrial—regularly maintained. It is in no sense an asylum, but a school for learning supported by the State. The elementary course requires seven years for its completion, and comprises the subjects included in the term “common branches.” For such pupils as are fitted for and desire them, instruction is offered in advanced subjects, comprising a regular high school course of three years, sufficient academic training to prepare for elementary teaching, or other intellectual pursuits, and for professional studies.

In the industrial department the boys are trained to do cabinet work, chair-caning, etc., and the girls laundrying,

sewing, general household and fancy work. A part of every day is devoted by each pupil to some sort of industrial employment.

2. The Education of the Blind.

Like the one just mentioned, "The Institution for the Education of the Blind" is strictly an educational establishment, a legitimate part of the public-school system of the State, and "has for its object the moral, intellectual, and physical development and training of the blind children, of suitable school age, of both sexes, residing in the State." It is merely a boarding school in which tuition, boarding, washing, medical attendance, and support, except clothing and traveling expenses, are provided.

The instruction is similar in scope to that of the deaf-mutes, but includes music also, and adapts the industrial training to the conditions of the sightless. In the literary department are studied, besides the legal branches, algebra universal history, geometry, chemistry, and mental and moral philosophy. Besides vocal and instrumental music, an extended training is given in the tuning of musical instruments, a course that is much patronized.

In addition to sewing, knitting, crocheting, and fancy work in thread, worsted, and beads, engaged in by all the girls, the older ones are taught to use the sewing-machine, making many household articles and stitching napkins, bed covers, simple clothing, etc. The smaller boys are given this work in beads also as a means of securing facile finger movements and cultivating the mechanical faculties, while in the workshop for boys is instruction in broom-making, chair-caning, etc.

3. Reformatory Institutions.

Of a very different character from the schools just described but still true schools, having like purposes and common means, but supplementing the common-school system, are the two reformatory institutions—the one for boys, at Plainfield, and that for girls, at Indianapolis.

A. BOYS' REFORMATORY.

The Constitution of 1852, in Article IX, required that there should be established by the General Assembly "houses of refuge for the correction and reformation of juvenile offenders." For fifteen years no steps were taken to execute the trust. In the Fourteenth Annual Report (1866) State Superintendent G. W. Hoss made an appeal to the Legislature, based upon a study of "education and crime" and "education and pauperism," and their cost in other States and countries, for the founding of a reform school under the management of the State. An act with this end in view was passed at the next Legislature providing for a "House of Refuge," and appropriating \$50,000 to secure a site and erect buildings. On January 1, 1868, the school was opened nominally, though the first inmate was received the 28th of the same month. Ten others were immediately transferred from the Northern Penitentiary, and by the close of the year the institution had 108 boys, in two families—i. e., in two groups, each with its own directive head.

Boys are entered only through commitments from circuit and criminal courts, and for crime or incorrigibility. If for crime, the boys must be from eight to sixteen years of age; for incorrigibility, a year older. All terms close at twenty-one, whatever the age at entrance, though tickets of leave are granted to boys when, in the judgment of the authorities, they are deserved. Nearly three thousand boys have at various times been members of the institution in its twenty-three years' history. Four fifths of these have been honorably dismissed, more than ninety per cent of whom have, by subsequent industry and manly deportment, justified the training of the school.

This training bears a triple character, being, on its formal side, about equally intellectual and manual, with the whole environment and administration such as to yield the largest returns on the side of will culture, in mechanizing right habits and moral standards. Formal school work and some industrial interest occupy each about half a day. Ele-

mentary instruction in the common branches is provided; and in the shops, about the houses, or upon the farm, systematic instruction and daily practice are had in brick-making and masonry, plastering and carpentry, general cooking, tailoring, shoemaking, farming and gardening, with floriculture, stock-raising, and gas-making. Even as to this it is not a mere manual-labor school, but aims to turn the boys out fairly familiar with their trades on the side of theory. The school has a farm attached of more than two hundred acres; a dozen "cottages," in each of which is a "family" under the constant influence of a teacher known as the "House Father"; school rooms; a gymnasium; barns; and shops, in which, and by the boys, is done most of the work of every sort required about the place.

The school at present numbers from five hundred to six hundred. It is managed by a superintendent* appointed by and responsible to a board of trustees, who receive their appointment from the Governor of the State. It is supported by annual appropriations of the Legislature.

B. THE REFORMATORY FOR GIRLS.

So far as known, Indiana stands alone among the States in having an institution for the reformation of wayward girls and a prison for convict women, each independent of the other but under the one control, and both managed by women. Throughout its administration the Board of Managers, the superintendent, matrons, and officials in both departments, teachers, physicians, and servants—all are women, and have been since 1877. About ten years before, the Society of Friends had appointed two of their members, Sarah Smith and Rhoda M. Coffin, to visit the prisons of our own and other countries looking to some "plan for ameliorating the condition of female prisoners."

Governor Baker's interest was readily enlisted, and he recommended to the Assembly, January 8, 1869, the estab-

* Since 1880, T. J. Charlton.

lishment of "a prison exclusively for women," and that it should "be under the government of women." In May of the same year such bill was passed, establishing the "Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls," with S. A. Fletcher, Jr., Indianapolis, James I. Irwin, Columbus, and F. G. Armstrong, Camden, as managers. Mrs. Rhoda M. Coffin Richmond and Mrs. Emily A. Roache were a Board of Visitors. The reformatory was opened in September, 1873, and the penal department a month later. Sarah Smith was the first superintendent. In 1877 the managing board was made to consist of women. In 1884 a woman physician was employed. At present all officials, clerks, teachers, etc., are women—indeed, every employé, except perhaps the engineer and watchman. In 1889 the name of the institution was changed by an act of the Legislature to the "Reform School for Girls, and Women's Prison."

To the reformatory girls are admitted who are not less than eight nor more than fifteen years of age, and may be retained until the age of twenty-one. For the last three years of service, at the discretion of the managers, inmates may live outside the institution upon tickets of leave, being all the while answerable to the authorities. For the last ten years the number in the institution has averaged one hundred and forty girls and more than fifty women. The average age of the former is twelve, of the latter thirty years. The support comes through the State treasury; but for every one of its commitments each county sending pays to the State treasury \$140, where also all proceeds of the work done in the institution are deposited.

The reformatory is primarily a school; incidentally so the women's prison. Of academic subjects, the common branches only are taught, besides drawing and painting, three and a half hours each day being so employed. Besides books, however, are the industries, which are no less systematically followed, and are, perhaps, even more serviceable. Sewing, upon contract, cutting, fitting and dressmaking, knitting, laundrying, both domestic and for the trade,

cane-seating, gardening, and general housework, are all included in the category of industries taught and practiced. Nursing in the hospital also is made a subject of instruction and training, girls being taught how to bandage sprains, dress wounds, take the temperature of the body, nurse, and prepare food for the sick.

Over eight hundred girls and four hundred and fifty women have been admitted to the school and prison since their opening in 1873. For the first ten years the statistics show that eighty per cent of those discharged from the reformatory, and seventy-six of those from the penal department, have since led useful and orderly lives. Such results make it a school whose methods and management are worth consulting.

4. The State Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home.

This school and home was established first as a private enterprise about 1873, but became an interest of the State in 1878. It is known as the Indiana Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home, and is located in Rush County, about two miles south of Knightstown. It is managed by a board of three trustees, of whom one is a lady. Its Board of Visitors is made up of representatives of the Grand Army of the Republic in Indiana, the Women's Relief Corps of the State, the Sons of Veterans, and the J. B. Mason Corps No. 62, Knightstown.

The name of the institution describes the field of its patronage. Children under sixteen years of age belonging to the homes of deceased Union soldiers and sailors, whether having mothers living or not, and children of permanently disabled or indigent soldiers or sailors, may be admitted to the institution, and shall be entitled to support and education therein until sixteen years of age. The law further provides that the children so admitted shall, through "literary, technical, industrial, art, and military education," be so taught and treated as "to promote their physical, intellectual, and moral improvement," and shall "be trained in habits of industry, studiousness, and morality."

A kindergarten is provided and classes organized corresponding to the eight grades in the public elementary school, and including a full course in vocal music. Teachers are required to hold the license exacted of those who are employed by the public elsewhere, and the course of study "is designed to prepare any child leaving this school to enter the same grade in any school of the State." The institution employs eleven teachers.

The law further requires the trustees to "establish and maintain shops wherein suitable trades and arts shall be taught and practiced in a thorough and comprehensive manner." Under this provision and as a part of the system of education ten industrial departments have been organized, including the printing-office, working twenty-five compositors, and which publishes regularly the Home Journal; the sewing room; carpentering; floriculture and horticulture; a bakery; tailoring; a shoeshop; gardening; farming; and practical engineering.

The children number from five hundred to six hundred and average about eleven years of age. In the industrial schools are enrolled from one fourth to one third of them. Each county is entitled to have in the home a number of pupils "proportioned to the number of soldiers furnished by it to the Union service in the Civil War." And for the support of the institution the State provides a permanent appropriation of fifteen dollars per month for each pupil and employé.

As deserving of "special attention" is the cooking school, in which are taught practical and scientific cooking by a graduate of the Boston Cooking School.

5. The School for the Feeble-Minded.

The immediate suggestion of a school for the incapables among children in Indiana seems to have come from Miss Susan Fussell, who in 1877 was in charge of the State Orphans' Home at Knightstown, and saw the need of some such institution. Fortified with information from the sev-

eral counties, she could emphasize her plea before the Legislature. Charles S. Hubbard, Representative from Henry County, was given the material, in the light of which he formulated a bill, and a committee visited the Ohio school at Columbus. The movement failed; but in 1879, being again presented, an act was passed establishing such school on the same premises occupied by the Orphans' Home.

It was almost immediately opened, November 1, 1879, one hundred children being admitted. In 1885 the school was temporarily moved to the newly erected but unoccupied buildings of the Eastern Hospital for the Insane at Richmond. In July, 1890, more than three hundred children were given permanent and commodious quarters in the new buildings specially provided by the State at Fort Wayne, Indiana. These were built at a cost of nearly \$200,000, and have surrounding them a farm of fifty-five acres. The inmates, averaging a little less than fourteen years of age, number about four hundred, though it is estimated that there are from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred more classed as feeble-minded in the State. About two thirds of those admitted are found capable of taking some form of training. This is chiefly industrial, and includes sewing (both with hand and machines), the care of rooms, ironing, baking, knitting (with machines also), laundrying, table-waiting, tailoring, care of stock, farming, gardening, shoe mending and making, carpentry, etc. In the schools are taught, also, gymnastics, marching, dancing, physical drills, vocal and band music, and numerous games. These last are found to be extremely valuable in cultivating habits of bodily control, cleanliness, attention, use of tools, self-helpfulness, etc. For the more intellectual training, lessons are given (to the few stronger ones) in elementary subjects, including drawing and history, reading, writing, and calculation, with something in language. Reading to the Fourth Reader is taught. The kindergarten treatment is found serviceable for most of the classes.

6. *The Young People's Reading Circle.*

Of a very different organization, and with different aims, but yet supplementary to the common-school system as legally constituted, is the Young People's Reading Circle. After discussion by the State Teachers' Association, and upon the favorable report of a committee appointed to consider the question, the circle was formally organized in 1888. Its management was intrusted to the Board of Directors of the Teachers' Reading Circle. Its plan includes the recommendation of books of five grades (Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Reader grades, and an advanced section), to be read under the direction and constant knowledge of the teachers of those grades. The reading involves no expense to pupils or teachers other than the purchase of books. The names of readers are reported to the directory by the local teacher, and to each reader is then issued a membership card. The books may be bought by individual pupils, by the school as a body, by the school authorities for the local library, or by interested patrons. The books once read form in many communities the nucleus of school libraries. The membership is now about fifteen thousand to twenty thousand annually, with twice this number of readers.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS.

THERE are few phases of the educational development in Indiana more interesting or more encouraging than the preparation of teachers, and the growth of public sentiment upon the question. What Indiana schools have become, ranking with the best among all the States, is chiefly due to what Indiana teachers have become.

What was done toward their improvement by the early

seminary has already been mentioned. It remains to treat briefly the agencies in more recent years having the same purpose. These agencies include, notably, (1) Pedagogics in the State University; (2) The State Normal School; (3) The De Pauw University Normal School; (4) The Richmond Normal School; (5) County Institutes; (6) Township Institutes; (7) The Teachers' Reading Circle.

1. Pedagogics in the University.

As early as 1839 it was resolved by the Board of Trustees of the University "to establish a professorship to prepare teachers for the common schools," and to that end petitioned the Legislature for an appropriation of the saline lands in the State, or their proceeds, with which to meet the extra expense. It was proposed that "once in two years the professor in charge should visit each school district in the State!" Great good was expected to accrue to the University, as well as to the teachers, from this policy; but the movement discovers not more the good intentions of the trustees than the very inadequate conception they evidently had of the function of such a department, and its possibilities. The school was not opened. The need of it seems to have been frequently discussed, however, and in 1847 a similar movement was started to prepare teachers, but without any immediate good result. Such official interest without popular or financial support was necessarily fruitless.

The Normal School which the University trustees opened in 1852 was to fit teachers for the common schools of the State. It was connected with the preparatory department, and, besides a course of lectures on teaching and the management of schools, was little more than a school for the review of the common branches. Intending teachers occasionally took secondary work in the preparatory classes, but the thought was not common that professional qualifications meant something more than better scholastic attainments in the subjects to be taught; and the theory of teaching was little studied. Nevertheless, it afforded, perhaps, the best

opportunity offered in Indiana at the time for what was known as professional training.

The organization was simple, but included what was called the "professorship of didactics," to which Prof. Daniel Read was elected; and the Model School, whose principal was Mr. John C. Smith. It was afterward ordered that the principal of the school should be required to show special preparation by attendance "at some of the normal schools of the country." Within less than a year the order was rescinded. Really qualified principals could not be had or retained at the salary which the board felt able to offer.

The course of study as advertised for the years 1855-'56 was as follows, given chiefly by lectures: "Education, its nature and design; physical education; intellectual education; moral education; æsthetical education; the history of education; an examination of the powers of the mind, especially with reference to receiving and communicating knowledge; school-house architecture, including school furniture and grounds; the organization and classification of schools; graded schools; the proper incentives for the school; rewards and punishments; modes of teaching different subjects; the office of teacher; his duties to himself, his school, and the public; duty of the State in reference to educating its citizens; the educational policy of Indiana."

What could be fuller and more suggestive for teachers than this list of topics well considered? The enterprise included also model and practice schools, and offered a diploma or certificate to such as satisfied the requirements of the University. To this end, for each candidate an examination was set, comprising, besides the lectures on didactics, the common branches, linear drawing, book-keeping, algebra, geometry, mensuration and surveying, natural philosophy and chemistry, physiology, history of the United States and general history, the constitutions of the United States and Indiana, English literature, and vocal music. Prof. Daniel Read, for most of the period of six years, had charge of the course, with D. E. Hunter for a time as principal of the Model

School. Altogether it suggested a true professional training.

The school was abolished in 1858, but reorganized six years later, under the charge of D. E. Hunter, who was then Superintendent of the Bloomington public schools, and opened to both sexes. It was once more closed after a few terms, only to be reorganized again in 1868, under Prof. Hoss, who was then at the head of the Department of English. Prof. Hoss was just fresh from his official term as State Superintendent, and knew well the needs of the State in better teaching.

This need had been widely and repeatedly discussed for fifteen years, and labored for, by the best men of the State, in the Legislature, in the conventions of teachers, through educational and general newspapers, and wherever public attention could be gained. The time seemed ripe for some positive action. No man was more familiar with the conditions than Prof. Hoss. No school in the State could more readily undertake the work than the University. Great results were expected from the new department. The work was advertised to include "drills in different methods of teaching the common-school branches, lectures on the principles of education, and the organization and management of the schools." But the work was greatly disappointing; it was made but an incident in the constitution of the college occurring in the spring term only, and without any well-defined plan. The department was closed in five years (1873).

In September, 1880, by invitation of the Board of Trustees and the President of the University, Dr. W. T. Harris delivered, in the course of special lectures, a series on the Philosophy and History of Education. It was attended by numbers of the regular students and by a few school men from other parts of the State. These lectures were designed to afford a larger outlook—to students, intending teachers, and school men generally—over the field of education, the means and instruments of culture, and the conditions of

effective schooling. But the series was brief and formed no part of a systematic professional study by students.

No further attempts were made by the University to introduce pedagogy as a subject of study for collegians until in 1886, when a Department of Pedagogics was ordered, and Superintendent Boone, of Frankfort, Indiana, invited to organize it.

The work from the beginning was conceived and directed from the point of view of the University—not the Normal School. Its original constitution provided a course covering two years, since extended to three, and open to the members of the higher college classes. It includes professional work only. A liberal academic training is presupposed; not less than Freshman, and preferably Sophomore standing. The work is entirely elective, being freely open to students of other departments.

The subject-matter of the course is comprised in the three views of education—(1) the theoretical, (2) the historical, (3) the practical. Under the first is given a year's work upon educational psychology and the science of education; under the second, a study of the general history of education, our own national systems and the growth of the school system, and educational sentiment in Indiana; while under the third view is considered the nature of the school as an institution, city school systems, high-school teaching and supervision, contemporary foreign-school systems, and the nature of teaching.

It employs neither practice schools nor model lessons, and is not designed to present an established or exclusive art of teaching. It is content to have studied in a liberal way the nature and conditions of education as the ground upon which to erect, or (with a different figure) as furnishing the doctrine out of which may be evolved an approved art.

The department is one of eighteen co-ordinate departments in the University, each covering four years, and each leading to the degree of B. A. Every graduate from the department must have had one year of college English, one

year of mathematics, one year of laboratory science, and two years of some language other than English, and of college grade; the full course in pedagogics; and sufficient work chosen from other but, in general, related departments to make up the minimum of studies required for graduation (thirty-six terms).

Graduate courses are offered upon the same conditions, and with like privileges as in other departments.

The department has, since the organization, had regularly in its classes from one fourth to one third of the entire college enrollment. At least fifty per cent of each senior class have taken more or less of the work. Since the department has had a body of graduate students, twenty-five per cent of the graduates studying in the institution have been specialists in pedagogics.

As contributing to its study, the department has accumulated a very useful working library of pedagogical literature.

2. The State Normal School.

But almost twenty years prior to any establishment for really professional work in the training of teachers by the University, steps had been taken for the organization of a normal school in the State, for the preparation of teachers for the common schools. The origin and development of the institution afford materials for an interesting history.

Not only was the need felt for a body of trained teachers, but, for a decade or more, school men had been acquainted with the existence of normal schools elsewhere and knew something of their work. A few of the teachers sent West by ex-Governor Slade and his society had come from such schools just established in New England and New York. Intercourse between the East and West was more frequent, and the fame of the Albany Normal School had reached Indiana. Profs. Calvin E. Stowe and A. D. Bache had but recently returned from Europe, where they had gathered information of the German and other Continental training schools. The report of the former being published by

the Ohio Legislature, was given a circulation in Indiana also.

In 1847 the convention's address upon education included a plea, re-enforced by well-chosen extracts from Barnard, Horace Mann, and others, in behalf of special institutions for the training of teachers. In 1851 Daniel Read, before the members of the General Assembly, delivered an address, and urged among other things a normal school as the surest means of raising the qualifications of teachers and dignifying their service. It was an occasional theme of discussion in the meetings of the Northern Indiana Teachers' Institute from 1849 to 1853. This does not at all mean that the sentiment in favor of professional schools for teachers was universal or even common, except among the older and more progressive teachers themselves. Superintendent Larrabee in his first official document refers to normal schools in the following words: "Our Indiana law makes no provision for these. Perhaps this is well, for I doubt if such schools, however important and valuable they may be in some States, would comport with our circumstances, or suit our genius, or meet our wants." Prof. Mills even had said in the third annual report of the State Department, 1854, that the State was not prepared for special appropriations for normal schools and teachers' institutes.

Immediately upon the organization of the State Association, however, the subject was up for the most serious attention. A committee was appointed, and at Superintendent Mills's suggestion (December, 1855), to consider the wisdom of establishing at least two normal schools. This committee consisted of Charles Barnes, Silas T. Bowen, and Lewis Estes. The report, made at the December meeting in 1856, was referred to the Executive Committee, and discussed the year following. The discussion of two days ended in a compromise, and was renewed the next year. Among the stanch friends of the movement now was Prof. Mills, as also B. C. Hobbs, O. Phelps, A. J. Vawter, Silas T. Bowen, Charles Barnes, and others. Against these were marshaled a body

of conservatives not so much opposed to such schools as persuaded that the time was inopportune. Dr. William M. Daily, President of the Indiana University, pronounced normal schools humbugs.

Nevertheless, public sentiment grew more favorable. "For ten years," says D. E. Hunter, "we besieged the Legislature; but not until some of our own (the association's) members found seats in that body did it take action on the Normal School bill." The act was introduced, and gained its hearing largely through the influence of Hon. B. E. Rhodes, and passed December 20, 1865, during the called session.

At this time there were twenty-four normal schools, in fifteen States. Five States had more than one each. All were State institutions. The first had been established twenty-five years before in Massachusetts. Indiana had waited long and lost valuable time, but the provisions of the bill when finally approved gave pronounced emphasis to the professional nature of the proposed school. Its object was declared to be "to prepare teachers for teaching in the common schools of Indiana." It was not meant to be an academy or seminary, but a professional school, wherein training in the theory and practice of organizing, teaching, and managing schools should be held to be the primary purpose.

Under a provision of the law requiring a donation of no less than \$50,000 cash value to determine its location, the place of the school was fixed at Terre Haute. The city offered \$50,000 in money and the school trustees more than two acres of ground additional, valued at \$25,000. The Legislature in 1867 by special act diverted to the school also \$50,000 of the year's collection of the Township Library Fund. In 1869 it made an additional appropriation of \$70,000. The original act provided further that in each apportionment of school funds the State Superintendent should set apart \$5,000 for tuition purposes in the Normal School. In 1873 this was made \$15,000 per year, or \$7,500 at each apportionment. Since 1883 it has been \$10,000 semi-annually.

The school was formally opened January 6, 1870, with William A. Jones as president and a faculty of three, exclusive of teachers in the Model School. Mr. Nathan Newby, instructor in mathematics, and Miss Amanda P. Funnell, in charge of geography and primary methods, were both graduates of the Oswego Training School. The work in English was given in charge of Miss Mary A. Bruce. From twenty-one students at this opening, the enrollment has increased to 1,009 for the year 1890, and an average term enrollment for the last ten years of more than four hundred. Of over six thousand students who have in twenty years taken more or less of its work, about one sixth have come from the families of Vigo County or from those that have moved to Terre Haute to have the advantages of the school. Next to Vigo County, Parke has sent most students. Fourteen counties* have furnished more than forty-six per cent of all, eleven others† having averaged but six to the county for the twenty years. The school has had in this time 450 graduates. Two thirds of these, it is estimated, remain in the Indiana schools, besides a large number of the undergraduates of the institution.

As an organization the school includes, as it has from the beginning, the Normal School proper and the Model School. This latter includes one class in each of the usual eight grades below the high school.‡ Its pupils constitute a school district in the city of Terre Haute, and have their regular teachers employed under agreement between the Normal School Board and the City School Board. It serves as a practice and model school for the Normal School pupils.

The Normal School proper is designed to "confer that knowledge which constitutes the science of education, and

* Boone, Clay, Hendricks, Marion, Morgan, Parke, Putnam, Sullivan, Tippecanoe, Vermillion, Vigo, Wabash, Warrick, and Wayne.

† Adams, Blackford, Brown, Crawford, Lake, Marshall, Ohio, Porter, Starke, Steuben, and Whitley.

‡ This has just recently been modified to include in the Model School only the four primary grades.

to train students in the art of instruction and school management." It exists for professional ends and not for general culture. Only those who seek to fit themselves for the work of teaching are considered eligible to its privileges, and very properly so.

Very early there was added to the regular elementary course which prepared teachers for the common schools an advanced course, including Latin or German, or an additional amount of each, and more advanced work in mathematics. At present there are offered six courses—one of four years; three of three years each, open to high-school graduates; and two covering each one year, open to graduates of college. In general, the regular course includes two terms each of the common-school branches, except reading, writing, and spelling, five terms in advanced mathematics, two in higher literary studies, five in science (two of physics, and one each of botany, chemistry, and geology or zoölogy), one term of music and drawing, and six terms of Latin. The more purely professional work comprises one term in educational psychology, one in the philosophy and history of education, and a term each in methods in reading and language, number and form, and geography and history, besides which students are required to observe and interpret the work of the practice schools during the time they are receiving instruction in methods, and in the last year of the course spend a considerable time in actual teaching in these schools. In the shorter courses a relatively smaller proportion of the work is academic. For college graduates the training is wholly professional.

Graduates of the full Normal School course are admitted to the State University as regular Juniors, and may be graduated in two years, or upon eighteen terms of work.

Upon the completion of either course offered, as required by its conditions, each student receives a certificate of proficiency, for which, after two years' (twelve months') experience in teaching, and upon satisfactory evidence of professional ability to instruct and manage a school, there is sub-

stituted a diploma, which the law requires "shall be considered sufficient evidence of qualification to teach in any of the schools of this State." This is for life, and carries with it all the privileges of a life certificate from the State Board of Education.

3. The De Pauw University Normal School.

Of a different character was the School of Pedagogy, opened by the trustees of De Pauw University in the fall of 1885. This was a part of the general movement in that institution toward expanding its courses and enlarging its organization incident to the recent very liberal endowment of the institution by Mr. W. C. De Pauw. The university idea dominant was that of a group of related schools, comprising the liberal arts, fine arts, the three learned professions, and teaching; and the Normal School was needed to round out the system. Besides, it was held by some that a church school should mold the teaching force as well as the preaching force of its people.

The original faculty consisted of Prof. S. S. Parr, dean, Prof. Arnold Tompkins, and Prof. W. H. Mace. Connected with the faculty later were Mrs. Tompkins and Mrs. Mace, and Charles W. Greene. After two years, upon the resignation of the dean, the school was reorganized and greatly enlarged as well as enriched under Prof. Tompkins, the curriculum recast, and the faculty increased.

The design from the beginning was to make the school strictly professional as to the subject-matter, and one of scientific method. The course covered three years, and included a critical study of the common-school branches, the subjects reorganized from the teacher's point of view, this covering one year; algebra and geometry; two years of Latin; four terms of general history; physics and chemistry; botany and zoölogy; and a thorough course in rhetoric and literature; besides a study of the school, its purpose, organization, and management; the mind as a basis of method; general method and the process of teaching; the science and art of

organizing and superintending schools; the course of study; the philosophy and history of education, with observation and practice in a training-school. This last was organized in the fall of 1888.

The school closed with the college year, June, 1890. The attendance had constantly increased and the quality of the work greatly improved. Such work as was done during five years is much needed by the State, and it can only be a matter of regret that the public schools must be deprived of its services. The training was predominantly professional and severely scientific. In its five years it graduated eight students and had under its influence 386 more. Its great prosperity would seem to have justified its continuance.

4. The Richmond Normal School.

The Richmond Normal School was a private enterprise, and was opened September 3, 1883, under the principalship of Prof. Cyrus W. Hodgin.

Its purpose was specifically stated in the first announcement to be (1) to prepare teachers, (2) to fit young men and women for college, (3) to furnish the opportunity for a review of the common branches, (4) to aid in the formation and promotion of those habits of thinking and acting that constitute a worthy character. As a matter of fact, its work was made chiefly professional. It was a teacher's school, having a three years' course, the professional subjects comprising psychology, history and theory of education, school management, the school system of Indiana, and methods in reading, arithmetic, grammar, geography, and United States history. A model school also was maintained and used by students as a practice school.

The school, opening with seventeen pupils, had increased by June, 1885, to a yearly catalogue of two hundred and seventy. The five teachers had been increased to eleven. During the first four years the aggregate membership was more than a thousand. The course was made more profes-

sional, though, besides the teachers' department, there were post-graduate, academic, and elective courses.

The institution closed with the academic year 1886-'87. Prof. Hodgkin connected himself with the Earlham faculty and the school passed into the hands of John C. McPherson, whose failing health compelled him after one year of service to abandon the enterprise. In its high aims, its singleness of purpose, and quality of work, the Richmond Normal held rank among the most efficient teachers' schools of the State.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS (Continued).

5. County Institutes.

THERE seems to have been no legislation recognizing county institutes in Indiana prior to 1865. But, for almost thirty years before that time, voluntary organizations having the same object had existed in various parts of the State, and were helped on by the leadership and wise counsel of progressive school men. The institute was seen to be one, and a much-needed, means for the elevation of the teaching class and the improvement of the schools. It encouraged professional spirit, conserved learning, knit the teachers into a body having common interests, and diffused the instruments and means of culture to the great improvement of education.

Such, in fact, was the convention of Wayne County teachers held in Richmond in 1838, inaugurated and managed by Ebenezer Bishop and others, teachers in that city, and attended and addressed by such men as Henry Ward Beecher, E. D. Mansfield, etc. A similar but somewhat more formal session was held in La Grange County, eight years after, by Rufus Patch, then in charge of the La Grange

Collegiate Institute. The intervening years bore a part in the movement. It appears that Wayne and other counties in central and southern Indiana later, also, held occasional meetings that in time took on the institute character and gave technical instruction. The Northern Indiana Teachers' Institute, organized in 1849, with ten-day sessions three or four times a year in the cities about Elkhart, South Bend, and Logansport, prior to 1853; and the itinerating institute in western Indiana, held during the two years of 1858 and 1859, in the vicinity of Greencastle and Crawfordsville, by R. M. Johnson, A. J. Vawter, D. E. Hunter, and L. S. Kilburn—exhibit the abundant professional and personal interest of school men a generation ago in the improvement of teachers.

Besides these, another class of institutes, held under the direction of the State Teachers' Association from 1860 to 1864, inclusive, did valiant service, and deserve particular mention. In the former year that body appointed a committee of eleven, one from each congressional district, and of which Mr. Hoss was made chairman. These were D. E. Hunter, James G. May, E. P. Cole, S. R. Adams, A. C. Shortridge, G. W. Hoss, B. C. Hobbs, A. J. Vawter, Messrs. Wharton and Johnson, and James Baldwin. Each was required to hold at least one institute in each county in his district. In general, this was done, and the policy continued until the institute law was passed in 1865. In the aggregate more than three hundred sessions were held in various parts of the State during these years, and the general respect for education greatly enhanced.

Prior to 1850 the Teachers' Institute was recognized as a part of the school machinery in a dozen States, receiving more or less of aid from public funds. Michigan, New York, Ohio, and other States both East and West, were already feeling the effects of the new movement. Sweet of New York, Mansfield of Ohio, Salem Town, Horace Mann, David P. Page, Caleb Mills, Breckenridge of Kentucky, W. D. Henkle, Northend, Barnard, Cutter of Massachusetts, and

others, equally efficient, perhaps, were all more or less identified with the movement in Indiana, of which the institutes and associations of 1850 and 1860 were a part. It was a notable band, and, with other teachers from our own and neighboring States, did courageous battle for truth and right in the name of the public school.

In 1855 Superintendent Mills had said that the State was "not prepared for special appropriations for either normal schools or teachers' institutes"; but the year following, and for successive years, the State Association, and the Superintendent of Public Instruction and educators generally, with few exceptions, demanded in all public ways State recognition and State aid for teachers' institutes. As noted above, these came in the law of 1865.

The act provided that, "in order to the encouragement of teachers' institutes," the county school examiner of each county should be entitled to draw from the County Treasury not less than \$35 nor more than \$50 in each year for the purpose of defraying the expenses of such institute for his teachers. During the session of the institute, which must continue for at least five days, schools must be closed. Within nine months fifty-eight counties had held such meetings. More than 3,500 teachers were reported as attending, and the sessions more helpful and producing better and larger results in proportion to their cost than any other agency in the system. Prof. Hoss mentions as the legitimate results, either direct or indirect, of the movement, better modes of teaching, larger and clearer views of the work to be done, an increased love for and devotion to that work, the awakening of an aspiration for higher attainments and greater usefulness, the organization of teachers' associations and libraries, and the circulation and reading of professional literature, the working up of an educational sentiment in the community, and a preparation of the way for a State normal school. In the official report for 1865-'66 Prof. Hoss included an admirable circular of instructions to examiners upon the preparation for and the organization and

management of these institutes. In most counties, while the results mentioned were professional, the work was chiefly academic. It was meant primarily to give sound instruction in the common-school branches in a skillful way as a guide to teachers. Indeed, for many years this remained the prevailing character of the institutes for the State. About one fourth of the counties for that first year maintained advanced and theory classes. And within five years the superintendent was able to say, and doubtless with reason, that few instrumentalities had "done more to improve the methods of instruction in our common schools than the county institutes." In ten years the attendance had increased from an average of thirty-eight to each county to one hundred and twenty-five, at a cost aggregating more than \$600, one fourth of which came from the teachers. Now ninety per cent of the teachers attend, the legal requirements and the State support remaining essentially the same as twenty-five years ago. For their support the State appropriates about \$4,500 annually, the remainder of their cost—about \$4,000—being borne by teachers.

So great had been the service, and so marked the improvement in these bodies, that steps were taken in the Centennial year to unify and systematize their work.

The county superintendents in their gatherings began to discuss the faults and misconception in the management of institutes, and the right method of conducting them. When shall they be held? Who shall manage them? How shall programmes be constructed? Who shall be employed as instructors? What is a legitimate institute exercise? How may sociability be promoted? How may evening sessions, model classes, and recitations be employed? At their annual convention, May, 1876, they appointed a special committee for this purpose. A plan was matured, including an institute director, a corps of instructors, and State control of the sessions; but it failed of execution. In 1879 it was undertaken again, but too late for the institute season. The year following, however, by request of the convention, the State

Board undertook the task of preparing an outline, or manual of suggestion to county superintendents and instructors in the management of institutes. The course recommended covered two years, and included for 1881 lessons in language, arithmetic, physiology and hygiene, writing, reading, school government, spelling, moral instruction, and music. The following year, besides arithmetic and reading, continued with a new analysis, topics were offered in grammar, drawing, geography, pedagogics, United States history, and civil government. In all of these, the nature of the subject-matter, the principles involved in its teaching, its pedagogical value, and relations to other parts of the course, became not only worthy of consideration, but of primary importance.

In these instructions the chief object of an institute was held to be "to impart a knowledge of the principles and methods of teaching and school management." The institute should aim to provide professional training. "The schools must be depended upon to teach the several branches of study; the institute must show how to teach these branches. The school teaches pupils to divide one fraction by another; the institute shows teachers how to teach the division of fractions. Institute instruction should unfold the vital guiding principles of the teacher's art, and it should present and illustrate those methods which embody these principles in actual practice. Academic instruction should have a small place in an institute."

A similar syllabus of topics was prepared for each of the three years 1883, 1884, and 1885; the last by a committee of county superintendents; the others under the direction of the State Department.

The general effect of the use of the outlines was to unify the work throughout most counties, to increase relatively the amount of professional work, to improve the quality of educational discussion, correcting false doctrine, rationalizing the conceptions of education and the school, and directing the study and thought of teachers into more fruitful

lines. Where intelligently used, they seem to have been only helpful.

In the mean time the State Reading Circle had been organized, and for the two years 1884 and 1885 its aims and organization and means were made the subject of fruitful discussion in the institute. Relatively more attention was given to the theory of education, the laws of mind as to learning and growth, and the conditions of best teaching. In a few counties institutes were becoming agencies for the training of teachers, and not simply schools for knowledge or discipline.

For the four years from 1886 to 1889, both inclusive, no outlines were prepared. The five years' course already marked out was made the basis of work in most counties. This was well, perhaps, inasmuch as within five or six years from the inauguration of the movement to systematize the work the great body of teachers had changed. The younger members of the class were, in general, more benefited by the fresh discussion of the former topics; and teachers of experience had opportunity to work out a truer content for the familiar forms of knowledge. Indeed, these were years of great advancement and professional growth. The institute was working out its more specific function and justifying its claim to a larger and more important place in the public system. For the institute season of 1890, at the request of the county superintendents, there was prepared by a special committee a new set of outlines setting forth the purposes of the County Institute and presenting syllabi in educational psychology, moral instruction and training, the history of education, the science of education, the general idea of method, and an exemplification of this idea of method in each of the common branches.

That the institute should not be allowed to take the place of the more formal and extended training of the Normal School requires no emphasis; that it may be made an efficient supplement of the school for hundreds of teachers the experience of Indiana has abundantly proved. The ele-

mentary instruction in the public schools owes much of its efficiency to the timely and intelligent discussion and emphasis of professional preparation in the county institutes. The exercises may sometimes be pedantic, often dogmatic, occasionally irrelevant; they are known to be in places insipid or even puerile, notwithstanding which it is believed that their final influence in the State has been greatly to the upbuilding of truer educational standards, the establishment of sounder views, and the adoption of more rational instruments of culture.

In this connection there should be mentioned also the Institute Instructors' Association. Such an enterprise had been discussed by the State Board in 1878. But it was not organized until December, 1887, when it held its first meeting in connection with the State Teachers' Association, in Indianapolis. Papers were read by W. W. Parsons, on Educational Science as it should be presented in County Institutes; by Arnold Tompkins, on The Rational Presentation of Methods; and by Mrs. Eudora Hailmann, on Kindergarten Instruction as Applicable to Primary Work in the Country Schools. Its second meeting was held in June, 1888, in connection with the county superintendents' convention, at which were presented papers upon History Work in County Institutes, by W. H. Mace; The Use of the Outline in Teaching United States History, Geography, and Civil Government, by Howard Sandison; and Primary Language Instruction for Teachers, by Miss Nebraska Cropsy.

Annual meetings have been held since, and there is apparent an improved general sentiment as to the fundamentals of institute instruction. Altogether the County Institute constitutes a most helpful means among the agencies for the training of teachers.

6. Township Institutes.

County institutes, either voluntary or required, had been more or less common in the State for twenty years before the first Township Institute. The latter was made both pos-

sible and necessary through the conditions worked out by the former. Local associations could be profitably sustained only in the midst of a developed and substantial professional spirit and common interests. Occasional voluntary meetings were held in the better counties by the examiners in the later '60's; but not until 1873 was any effort made to bring about a general movement among the township teachers. In that year an act, which has done so much for the schools of Indiana, provided that "at least one Saturday in each month, during which the public schools may be in progress, shall be devoted to township institutes or model schools for the improvement of teachers, and two Saturdays may be so appropriated at the discretion of the township trustee of any township. Such institute shall be presided over by a teacher or other person designated by the trustee of the township. The township trustee shall specify in a written contract with each teacher that such teacher shall attend the full session of each institute contemplated herein, or forfeit one day's wages for every day's absence therefrom, unless such absence shall be occasioned by sickness."

The law remained substantially the same for sixteen years. From four thousand to five thousand institutes were held annually, or an average of fifty to the county. For ten years their management was left, under the law, to the personal judgment and interest of the one thousand trustees of the State. Along with opportunities for good, there was much trifling and shirking. The work was often unrelated, rarely professional, and frequently uninteresting. Discussions lagged or wandered, being almost without direction. They lacked a well-defined purpose and vigorous administration.

To improve the institute, and at the suggestion of the convention of county superintendents in June, 1884, Superintendent Holcomb and a committee of his selection prepared for the township institutes an outline of lessons after the same general plan as that employed for the county institutes. The topics were set off into six lessons for six ses-

sions of the institute; and were made to include, besides the Reading Circle work, which was to be given one hour at each meeting, reading, language, geography, arithmetic, writing, United States history, orthography, grammar, civil government, school hygiene, the recitation, object lessons, school government, school recreations, examinations, and graduation from district schools.

Similar schedules of work for township institutes have been prepared in subsequent years, and have fully justified their use. As in the more general county organization, the chief object of the Township Institute is held to be professional culture and training. "Its greatest aim is to impart a knowledge of the principles and methods of teaching and school management." In recent years a large part of the time has been given to the work of the Reading Circle. Every year less academic work is introduced. The history and theory of education and school systems, and the practice of teaching, its right principles and conditions, are held to be the most fruitful and helpful topics.

By the Legislature of 1889 the law concerning township institutes was so amended as to provide that "for each day's attendance at such institute each teacher shall receive the same wages as for one day's teaching; provided, that no teacher shall receive such wages unless he or she shall attend the full session of such institute and perform the duty or duties assigned." The trustee or some one of his appointing is held responsible for conducting the institute.

This interest and the importance of a wise management of the township system, including the institutes, points toward the necessity for some closer supervision of local schools, the appointment of principals, or the making of the trusteeship a professional office. In a number of counties the need has led to the appointment of township principals. It is believed, however, that the local institute has not yet been brought to its most efficient service.

7. *The Teachers' Reading Circle.*

Among the agencies for the improvement of the teacher in Indiana must not be omitted the Reading Circle. It is a very natural instrument forced into the system because of the necessities of the teaching class.

Comparatively few teachers have had a formal training for their work. The social, financial, and other conditions are not such as to encourage the hope that, for many years to come, the majority of teachers will have this preparation. Public sentiment, perhaps, is not such yet as to justify its immediate requirement. Nevertheless, the urgent need of the schools for the best direction, or at least for better, suggested that some means might be devised for carrying on the improvement of teachers in connection with their work. To this end are established and supported institutes of the township and the county; associations, voluntary and compulsory; and particularly the movements to encourage private study.

As compared with the association, the institute is a school. The work of the latter is far more specific and has a measurable value. Its results may be required and anticipated. The institute was a step forward. But at best its service has been partial and disconnected. Its treatment is topical, not logical. Meetings are few, and the work of each more or less independent. The leadership is often uncertain and of questionable value. For teachers there is needed not only the most thoroughly professional, but the most severe continuous training that comes from close personal studies or following daily the thought of a master. To have thought or read for a year in the light of a single idea or group of ideas, by which one's reflections are unified and knit, as an integral part, into one's life, means an advance in culture, both professional and liberal, that can come from no disconnected studies.

Imperfect as is the Reading Circle beside the more definite and systematic training of professional schools, its serv-

ice clearly appears upon the side of more accurate thinking, clearer and deeper insights into professional questions, habits of study, and confidence in individual effort.

To the end that such training might be available to teachers who were prevented in any way from attending a normal school, and to continue and supplement the work of those who had enjoyed such training, it was believed that a course of reading that should be chiefly professional, cover but one or a few lines, extend through the year, and appeal to the maturest tastes and experience of the readers, would be effective.

A Reading Circle having this object in view was organized in the summer of 1884 under the direction of the State Teachers' Association at its meeting in the previous December. It is therefore a creature of that body, and has really no legal character. Its organization includes a central board of directors, a manager in each county—the County Superintendent—and the Township Institute. The board comprises ten members, the State Superintendent and his chief clerk being members by virtue of their office. The latter has generally been secretary of the board. This close connection with the State Department has been throughout an element of strength to the circle. Through this office is carried on, therefore, all official correspondence. The questions upon the theory of education used in the examination of teachers throughout the State are based, as they have been since 1886, upon the professional work of the Reading Circle course. The board's certificates of Reading Circle work are honored both by county superintendents and the State Board of Education, and are accepted in lieu of examination upon the science of teaching, either for local or State license. The secretary is paid a nominal salary for his extra services. Other members receive their expenses only.

Two directors are chosen annually by the State Teachers' Association, each for a term of four years. The board arranges a course of reading to cover a school year, selects and contracts for the books to be used, publishes instructions and

bibliographical references for readers, preserves a record of membership, conducts an annual examination, and is the final authority in all questions of management. The actual reading, the prosecution of prescribed studies, is, of course, individual; but for several years, indeed, theoretically, from the beginning, the township institutes have been used as the occasions for periodical discussion of the subjects worked over. This has rendered a double service to the system. It has vitalized the institute, and has made the course of reading at the same time more effective.

Between the members and local circles on the one side and the central board on the other, the active agent—upon whom depends, more than upon any one person or body of men besides, the success of the organization—is the County Superintendent. His interest and earnestness and discretion, his generous acceptance of the responsibility, and his general acquaintance with and direction of the teachers' reading and professional thinking, are only equaled by the encouraging success of the movement.

The organization in each county is dependent upon the County Superintendent. The enlisting of an interest, the enrollment of members, receiving books from publishers and distributing to readers, making reports to the central office concerning membership, examinations, etc.—all this belongs to the county manager. For the first two years funds for meeting the expenses of the circle were raised by a membership fee of twenty-five cents. Since 1886 arrangements have been made with the publishers of adopted books to pay to the board the usual dealer's discount on all books sold. This constitutes the sole revenue from which expenses are met. The plan has worked out admirably for all parties—most of all, perhaps, for the members.

The following books have been included in the course prescribed for the eight years, and in the order named: Brook's Mental Science and Mental Culture; Barnes's General History; Parker's Notes of Talks on Teaching; Smith's English Literature; Hewett's Pedagogy; Hailmann's Lect-

ures on Education; Green's Short History of the English People; Watts's On the Improvement of the Mind; Hale's Lights of Two Centuries; Sully's Teachers' Hand-book of Psychology; Compayré's History of Pedagogy; Hawthorne's Marble Faun; Carlyle's Heroes and Hero Worship; Compayré's Lectures on Pedagogy; Steele's Popular Zoölogy; Wood's How to study Plants; Boone's Education in the United States; Page's Theory and Practice of Teaching; Hawthorne's American Literature.

Ten of the nineteen books may fairly be called professional; the others, being of a general character, include history, literature, and science. The matter aggregates about seven thousand pages, or something more than one hundred pages for each of the seven months set apart in each year for this work. The average expense per year for each teacher, including the fees for the first two years, has been about \$2.25.

The membership of the circle has grown steadily from the beginning, numbering approximately 9,000 in 1890-'91 as against 1,600 in 1884-'85. Its patronage has been larger in the townships, though several of the cities have in whole or part made the books prescribed the basis of their teachers' meeting discussion and studies. Neither the younger and inexperienced teachers, nor the older and more scholarly ones, who together constitute a minimum of the teaching class, have found its service so helpful as the large body of growing, studious, ambitious, earnest middle-class teachers, to whom the organization has been at once normal school, teacher, and academy. It is not too much to say that the quality of teaching in Indiana schools has been measurably improved in eight years, and greatly through the influence of the Teachers' Reading Circle.

The following-named persons have been members of the board since its organization: George P. Brown, John C. McPherson, Harvey B. Hill, Joseph J. Mills, Richard G. Boone, Hubert M. Skinner, Joseph Carhart, Mrs. Emma Mont McRae, Mrs. Mattio Curl Dennis, Lewis H. Jones, Cal-

vin Moon, A. N. Crecraft, D. M. Geeting, Arnold Tompkins, Miss Adelaide Baylor, John W. Holcomb, Harvey M. La Follette, Hervey D. Vories, William H. Elson, and J. A. Woodburn.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES AND ACADEMIES.

1. Collegiate Schools.

IN a study of the development of education in Indiana few chapters are more attractive to the historian and more discouraging to the educator than the rise and development of sectarian schools, and particularly the denominational institutions for higher learning. Interesting to the historian, in that the great multiplication of schools, denominational and private, suggests a prevalent interest in education, which was in the last generation a very natural outgrowth of the existing conditions; but not altogether encouraging to the educator, as showing a wasteful division of forces and efforts and evident internal dissensions and the exalting of ways and means over results, which finds no recognition from thoughtful men in any other profession or business, and must be particularly deprecated in education. The advantages exhibited in other institutions in the massing of forces and the intelligent co-operation of parts, why should not the most important interest of all—education—also show?

This relation of the Church as an educational agent to the state and the family, other similar agents, was, in the earlier years far more than now, a fruitful source of divided control in education, the occasion of weakling schools, dependent control, apologetic teaching, and pretentious plans. It has given Indiana almost a score of colleges or would-be colleges, all of whose students could at any time have been as well taught by one half of their combined faculties, and

whose aggregate endowment prior to 1870 yielded less than \$100,000 annual income.

In none of the schools was tuition free, and to most of them, State and denominational alike, support came through a process of pulpit appeals on the one side, or legislative lobbying on the other. One half of what was given through stress, if given in common and economically administered, would have generously endowed all the needed institutions. This pinched support made any vigorous administration impossible, and what might otherwise have been a college was forced to be content with a little superior training, and a good deal of that which was at best only secondary. Colleges in name, not a few were high schools only in fact.

It is not meant that this condition of affairs was due to the opposition of the churches to State education simply, or any disposition on the part of the State to ignore the churches. It was rather a remnant of the earlier thought in this country, long cherished in Indiana, that all higher education, including that in secondary schools even, was the child of the Church, as elementary training was long held to belong to the family. This Prof. Mills believed and consistently maintained throughout a long and most useful public life in educational circles in Indiana, standing for the most liberal policy toward State-founded, State-supported, and State-controlled elementary schools, but denying the right of the State to give financial aid to any one institution that was not equally accorded to others of collegiate rank, however founded. While other influences were felt in the founding of these Church schools, this one of the prior claim of the Church, and an inherent right, along with private interest, to the control and encouragement of superior education, was the predominant one. The founders of Hanover, Wabash, Asbury, Franklin, Concordia, and Earlham Colleges, all organized as schools prior to the middle of the century, were strongly possessed of this spirit; and, while pronounced friends of education, regarded the State's assumption of authority over all education with distrust.

A second cause of this division of the interest among the churches may be found in the once prevalent, and now in places common, impression that a State institution is likely to neglect the religious life of students.

This, it is well known, is still the attitude of the Catholic Church, and may be said to be the ground for all Catholic schools, whether elementary, academic, or superior, in Indiana or elsewhere. The responsibility of the Church for the life of its membership makes illegitimate the use of any secular agency of education of any grade. Protestant denominations, on the other hand, have, with few exceptions, accepted the secular education in childhood and youth, but rejected it in the college and university. Indiana has but few Protestant parochial or Church-supported schools of lower rank than seminaries, but a dozen colleges. Of course, upon pedagogical grounds, this attitude can only appear contradictory. The earliest years fixing life's habits might better lay first claims to the Church's oversight.

A third reason definitely assigned in a few instances for the establishment of Church-supported colleges was the necessity felt for a ministry trained in the West. In the early history of the State the first clergymen of every denomination, as well as the first teachers and professors and college presidents and capitalists, and the most scholarly men generally, came from the East or the South. But this source could not long be depended upon. The West felt the need of filling its own professions. The movement in Indiana appeared first among the Presbyterians, and led to the founding of Hanover College in 1827, and six years later of Wabash College. Subsequently other denominations, notably the Methodists, Baptists, and Quakers, established similar schools. With all of them, except the last, the training of young men for the ministry has been throughout the years, if not the leading, one ever-present motive in their maintenance. The first faculties were selected from the clergy; the first libraries were, when not classical, theological; and the curriculum, in matter and treatment, emphatically such.

Finally, a not insignificant factor in the multiplication of denominational schools, though certainly a less worthy motive, is the need each organization saw of having its own school taught by its own adherents, as a means of defense, and of maintaining its place in society, and promoting the truth intrusted to its keeping. This felt "need of an institution of learning under their immediate patronage, and subject to their direction," was formally or implicitly given as a reason by more than one denomination for the establishment of such separate institutions. From the point of view of the Church, this was doubtless legitimate. It was one efficient means of conserving and promoting the growth of the doctrines and the policy which alone made the organization significant. It was held that the youth of every church had a claim upon the Church for instruction in its tenets. The denomination, on the other hand, was dependent for its existence upon this trained membership. Hence schools maintained by the various sects. But looked at in the interest of liberal education, it exhibits only faction and antagonism—the exaltation of class interests and the division of resources. It too often assumed, as it does sometimes to-day, that all culture should be tinged by the theological interpretations of a particular creed. Knowledge was sometimes less valued for itself than for its ecclesiastical and religious significance. The secularization of learning has greatly exalted education both in the Church and outside.

The accompanying table presents a list of the denominational schools now claiming collegiate rank and granting degrees. The date assigned to each has been made, as far as could be had, the time of opening the school as a college. Only those are included in the list that are still in existence. The number might be considerably extended by mentioning those that have been and were really efficient, but which are now closed, or reduced to secondary or semi-collegiate rank. Of such class were the Fort Wayne College; Howard College, Kokomo; Ridgeville College; and Smithson College, Logansport. Among them have been, as there are yet, some

of the most efficient institutions—institutions whose records show learned men in their faculties, honored alumni, and a regenerative influence upon the community. Most of them will be found mentioned elsewhere. The table includes fifteen institutions, excluding the purely private schools, considered in another chapter:

Table of Denominational Colleges.

1. Hanover College.....	Presbyterian.....	1827
2. Wabash College.....	Presbyterian.....	1833
3. Indiana Asbury University (De Pauw)....	M. E.....	1837
4. University of Notre Dame.....	Catholic.....	1842
5. Franklin College.....	Baptist.....	1844
6. N. W. C. University (Butler).....	Christian.....	1858
7. Earlham College.....	Friends.....	1859
8. Moore's Hill College.....	M. E.....	1854
9. Union Christian College.....	New Light.....	1859
10. Hartsville College.....	United Brethren.....	1859
11. St. Meinard's College.....	Catholic.....	1861
12. Concordia College (founded in Missouri in 1839).....	Lutheran.....	1861
13. Jasper College.....	Catholic.....	1889
14. St. Joseph's College.....	Catholic.....	1891
15. Taylor University.....	M. E.....	1891

A. HANOVER COLLEGE.

First among the denominational high-grade schools of the State was Hanover Academy, chartered by the Presbyterians, December, 1828, supplemented by a theological department two years later, and rechartered as Hanover College in 1833, but five years after the incorporation of Indiana College at Bloomington. The school was originally opened in 1827 by the Rev. John Finley Crowe, pastor of the church in Hanover, the stronghold at that time of Presbyterianism in Indiana. The settlement was composed chiefly of immigrants from Pennsylvania and the South, the first president of the college, in 1833, being the Rev. James Blythe, D. D., of Kentucky, whence in the early history of the institution many students were drawn. After ten years a new charter granted university privileges to the institution, the name remaining unchanged.

A charter was sought of the Legislature in 1832, but was defeated, chiefly through the influence, it was claimed, of the adherents of the State College at Bloomington, who asked "that the few active friends of education in the State should unite in support of one college, and make it prosperous and efficient, rather than that they should fritter away their strength on several weak colleges." Other opposition came also* from certain members of the Legislature "who were averse to chartering sectarian institutions, and especially Presbyterian institutions."

The school was originally opened pledged to the manual-labor idea, and the charter provided explicitly "that the students should . . . be exercised and instructed in some species of mechanical or agricultural labor, in addition to the scientific and literary branches there taught"; and required an annual report to the Legislature upon the success of the plan, showing "the progress and effects of such agricultural and mechanical exercise and instruction upon the health, studies, and improvement of the students." Students worked at cooperage, wood-chopping and rail-splitting, farming, carpentering, and printing. For the time this was regarded as a privilege, and drew students from other States. But to make the plan helpful, students were paid for their labor—often more than it was worth—and the college corporation became bankrupt. Within ten years from the founding (about 1835) the policy was abandoned.

In 1844, at the instance of President McMaster, the charter was surrendered, with a view of locating an institution in its stead at Madison, Indiana. Madison was then one of the most flourishing and populous cities in the State, and the school was projected on a comprehensive scale. Among the trustees were the Rev. Sylvester Scovill, Hon. Jere Sullivan, Hon. J. G. Marshall, and Hon. James G. Blake. Laboratories of philosophy and chemistry were advertised, and

* Says Judge William McKee Dunn, in *Early History of Hanover College*. The Bohemian, June, 1883, p. 103.

a library of fifteen hundred volumes. The founders announced as their purpose "to promote sound education and liberal learning, having a just relation to and including instruction in the religion of Nature and the Holy Scriptures." Special instruction was offered in the art of teaching, to those wishing to engage in that occupation. Hanover College, including all its property, was sold the same year by William McKee Dunn, as receiver, and bought by Williamson Dunn for \$400.

Notwithstanding the promise of Madison University, the Presbyterian Synod of Indiana, of which the Hanover school was the official representative, refused to accept the new institution as a substitute for Hanover College; and a few months afterward the latter was rechartered, with full college powers and privileges. The theological department, which had been organized in 1830, was in 1840 transferred to New Albany, whence it was removed in 1859 to Chicago.

Hanover College has had ten presidents since 1832, besides its honored founder, Rev. John Finley Crowe, who, as principal (1827-1832) and professor, served and honored the institution for more than thirty years.* Its graduates number seven hundred, including such well-known names as Noble Butler, Thomas A. Hendricks, Dr. E. J. Hamilton, and others, besides three thousand students. Women were first admitted in 1880, the first alumnae leaving in 1883. Few schools in Indiana have done more for liberal, general culture, or made larger contributions to the learning and efficiency of the State's professional and business life, than Hanover College.

B. WABASH COLLEGE.

Wabash enjoys the unique and significant distinction among the colleges of the State of being the only non-coeducational institution among Protestants, and of having had

* His labors at Hanover College closed with his death, January, 1860. The president of Indiana University, Dr. John M. Coulter, is a grandson of Rev. Mr. Crowe.

throughout its history of fifty-five years but three presidents, its present head, Dr. J. F. Tuttle, having administered the institution since 1862, or more than half of the whole period.

The institution, like the one last mentioned, was established as a school of the Presbyterian Church; but, unlike Hanover Academy, the Wabash College was meant to be "a literary institution in connection with manual labor." Its very name, "The Wabash Manual Labor College and Teachers' Seminary," under which its first charter was given, suggests a different constitution. The former planned to supply the scattered churches with ministers trained for the pulpit—a native ministry. And for fifteen years the school was a theological seminary. The latter, while not neglectful of the like interest, sought rather to provide a liberal and generous culture to all classes. As retaining the manual-labor bias, the latter was merely following the prevalent spirit. As a school for the preparation of teachers, it was one of the earliest in the State, or even in the Northwest. As a college it aspired to the standards of the highest literary and scientific institutions in the land. The present name was substituted in 1851, and the manual-labor policy abandoned in theory as it had already been in practice.

In December, 1833, the school was opened, and for more than two years continued as an academy under Prof. Caleb Mills, the first president, Elihu W. Baldwin, elected in 1834, not being inaugurated until July, 1836. His two successors have been Dr. Charles White, 1841–1861, and Dr. Joseph F. Tuttle, since 1862. Among its professors the institution has been honored in the services of such men as Profs. E. O. Hovey, John L. Campbell, and John M. Coulter in science, Prof. Caleb Mills in the languages, Colonel Henry B. Carrington, of the United States Army, etc.

From the first the institution took high rank as a classic, humanistic school. For thoroughness of work and efficiency in discipline the college has and has had no superior. Its characteristic conservatism has kept it from pedagogic blunders committed by many more ambitious and restless

schools. Here more than in any other Indiana college classical learning has found an honest recognition. Greek lingered long among the required subjects, and is still among the conditions of entering upon the classical course. But two courses are offered, the other being the scientific. A single elective in each course is offered in the junior year and two to seniors. Beyond this the work is prescribed.

The library of the institution is the largest and best selected college library in the State. It contains thirty thousand volumes, and is particularly rich in review and periodical literature and works of general reference. Its museum, including specimens in mineralogy, palæontology, zoölogy, botany, and archæology, occupies three large rooms, and is both complete in its materials and admirably arranged for use.

The property investments of the college, including grounds, buildings, laboratories, and libraries, are valued at not less than \$300,000. Its endowment is about three quarters of a million.

C. ASBURY (DE PAUW) UNIVERSITY.

Very early in the history of the State University, while it was yet Indiana College indeed, the Methodists of the State finding less representation on the Board of Trustees and in the faculty of that institution than they claimed as their right, and failing, after petition to the Legislature and to the appointing officers, to secure a share in its management, the Indiana Conference advised upon the founding of a college or seminary that should be under the control of the said Conference.

A charter was asked for, and on the 10th of January, 1837, granted by the General Assembly to the "Indiana Asbury University" at Greencastle, "forever to be conducted on the most liberal principles, accessible to all religious denominations, and designed for the benefit of our citizens in general." Under the authority of the Conference committee a preparatory school had been opened in Greencastle by

the Rev. Cyrus Nutt. The Rev. Matthew Simpson was inaugurated September, 1839, first president of the institution. A department of law was organized in 1846, and "The Indiana Central Medical College" at Indianapolis adopted as a branch of the University in 1848. German and French were made a part of the course in 1847, and Samuel K. Hoshour made instructor. It is worth noting that the first chair of English in the institution came five years later. In the fall of 1867 the doors of the University were first thrown open to girls, the first graduates (four) being in the class of 1871. Two years later, upon the appointment of John C. Ridpath as professor of English literature, a normal department was organized and added to his chair. Little has been preserved of the character or success of this work.

Not until 1858 is any mention made in the records of a course in history; it was then combined with that of belles-lettres, from which it was separated in 1881. Up to 1882, also, the Department of Natural Science included all the work offered in science. In that year physics was erected into a separate chair, and chemistry and physiology united in another.

In respect to its curriculum, the experience of De Pauw University has been one with that of other like institutions. As compared with Indiana University, whose course is characterized elsewhere, De Pauw passed through a long preparatory stage. German and French were introduced later, but English earlier. By the former, history was dignified by a separate chair in 1879, by the latter in 1881. Speaking generally, in De Pauw the development of the sciences seemed most backward. The privileges of the institution were extended by compact to Indians in 1843, and to girls in 1867. A formal theological training was first offered in 1882.

In the beginning, Asbury University was the school of Indiana Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Along with the growth of the Church were organized new conferences, which have borne and still bear a proportion of the responsibility in its maintenance and share its privi-

leges. These are the Indiana Conference, the Northern Indiana Conference, the Northwestern Indiana Conference, and the Southeastern Indiana Conference. Financially, it has been mainly dependent upon the support accorded by the several churches, its productive endowment, after forty years, being less than \$150,000. In 1880 and following, the condition of the institution's affairs was most unpromising. The annual deficit was more than \$10,000. At this juncture, but after prolonged deliberation, aid of a substantial and much-needed sort was obtained through the benefactions of Mr. W. C. De Pauw, for more than twenty years one of the institution's trustees. In 1884, having received more than \$200,000 toward an endowment, almost as much more for building and expense, and the assurance of a liberal addition to the endowment in the future, the trustees by legal process changed the name of the school to De Pauw University. The constitution of the University was greatly modified, the curriculum enlarged, new schools added, accommodations increased, and a new lease taken of life. Upon the death of Mr. De Pauw, in 1887, it appeared that besides former contributions, he had remembered the University in a bequest, variously estimated, because of its contingent character, at between one million and two million dollars.

The presidents of the institution have been Bishop Matthew Simpson, Revs. L. W. Berry and Daniel Curry, Bishop Thomas Bowman, Revs. Reuben Andrus and Alexander Martin, and Dr. J. P. D. John, in the order mentioned. Among its professors have been William C. Larrabee, Cyrus Nutt, John Clark Ridpath, A. C. Downey, and Samuel K. Hoshour; and among its alumni such men as ex-Governor Albert G. Porter, Senators D. W. Vorhees, of Indiana, and Newton Booth, of California, Prof. George W. Hoss, Rev. Charles N. Sims, and Dr. John C. Ridpath; Hon. T. B. Redding, the microscopist, and Thomas B. Wood, the missionary.

De Pauw University is a fair illustration of that conception of a university which makes it a group of related

schools. In the college of liberal arts the curriculum represents the modern impulse toward a guarded elective course, co-ordinate departments, optional subjects, and generally progressive tone. Its organization includes half a dozen schools, enrolling a thousand students, about one third of whom are in the college of liberal arts.

D. FRANKLIN COLLEGE.

Next to the Presbyterians, the Baptists in Indiana were among the earliest to move in the direction of a school for higher education. A beginning was made in 1834 by the organization of the "Indiana Baptist Education Society."

The proposed school was originally called the "Indiana Baptist Institution," or the "Academy," and was opened in October, 1837, as the "Indiana Baptist Manual Labor Institute," at Franklin, in Johnson County. As far as appears, the only phase of industry introduced was in the furnishing of a cooper-shop, which was run some years—the name of the institution being changed in 1845 to Franklin College, as more suited to the character of the work done.

In 1842 girls were admitted to the institution, with all its privileges. Prof. J. S. Hougham says: "Until some other college can antedate the academic year of 1842-'43, I venture to insist that this (Franklin) was the first chartered college in Indiana that received both sexes as students."* Two years later a regular course of collegiate studies was adopted. The school received meager support from the Baptists of the State, some sought its removal, funds were limited, subscriptions failed of collection, college appliances were wanting, the faculties were uncertain, and the administration greatly hampered in every way. In thirty years the institution had more than half a dozen presidents and principals, and was much of the time without either. There was really no endowment, and in 1864 the school was closed by order of the trustees. It 1872 it was again revived under the manage-

* History of Franklin College, p. 67.

ment of the Franklin College Association, subscriptions were taken, the old debts paid, and \$50,000 set apart as an endowment, which has since been increased to about \$80,000.

In its first fifty years it turned out sixty graduates; but in the same period it is estimated that its students numbered from three thousand to four thousand. For many years its instruction included the elementary subjects; the beginnings of physics, chemistry, and astronomy; something of the higher mathematics, and the languages.

The institution rested upon a somewhat different plane from that of most other colleges. "The enterprise," says Prof. Hougham, "contemplated from the beginning nothing less than the elevation of a numerous and well-established Christian denomination in our Commonwealth to an entirely different plane. Preachers and people alike were to be affected. Habits of thought and modes of action were to be changed. Deep-seated prejudices were to be removed; and a large majority of those for whose special benefit this college was projected cared little whether it lived or died."

That this part of the work has borne acceptable fruit appears in the more liberal support, the vigorous management, the enlarged curriculum, and a wider influence.

E. CONCORDIA COLLEGE.

What is now Concordia College, at Fort Wayne, was founded by a colony of Saxony Lutherans, in Perry County, Missouri, in the year 1839. Four years afterward a theological course was added, and in 1849 the institution was moved to St. Louis, and became the charge of the Missouri Synod. For more than thirty years the institution had a president, but was administered by a "director," not only the officers but the professors being the most scholarly men. In 1861 the college proper was moved to Fort Wayne, Indiana, the theological seminary remaining at St. Louis.

The institution has no endowment, expenses being met by the Church Synod. Tuition is free to those preparing for the ministry. The attendance is large, having grown from

seventy-eight in 1861 to nearly two hundred and fifty during the last college year. The school is one of a group of schools maintained by the Lutherans in this country: one in Milwaukee, Wis.; one in New York city; and one in Concordia, Mo., with a branch in St. Louis—all opened in recent years.*

F. EARLHAM COLLEGE.

Among the Protestant denominations, the Society of Friends was fifth in order in the provision of superior education in Indiana.

In 1847, in the midst of the manual-labor movements in education, the society undertook the establishment of an industrial boarding school. Fifteen years before, the general question had been discussed, and it was recognized that the "welfare of the society" required some such provision. Even at that early day the membership in the State was large for Western settlements, and a system of schools was planned to reach every Friend's neighborhood, and do for the children and the youth what the State, with thirty years of legislation, had failed to accomplish. Preparatory schools then, or within the next decade, were opened at Spiceland, Bloomingdale, Sand Creek (in Bartholomew County), Blue River (in Washington County), Fairmount, Amboy, and Westfield; and soon after at Plainfield, Thorntown, and New London.

The Friends' Boarding School, as it was first called, was the creation of the Indiana Yearly Meeting, whose sessions were and are held in Richmond. Steps were taken to raise money, and the building was begun in 1838. The school was located one mile west of Richmond, in Wayne County, on a farm of three hundred acres, and was meant by its original promoters, though not indorsed by the meeting, to combine manual and intellectual pursuits, it was hoped to

* German readers will find an interesting history of this institution in *Geschichte des Concordia Collegiums*, von einem Concordianer. St. Louis, 1889.

their mutual profit. The industrial aspect of the enterprise was soon lost sight of, although more than one hundred acres of farm remain as a source of revenue to the school. The first principal of this "boarding school" was Lewis A. Estes, recently of Bowdoin College.

In 1859 the scope of the institution was enlarged; it was chartered as a college, and the present name, "Earlham," adopted from the estate of an English Friend, who had made a considerable donation to its enlargement. Its first graduates were in 1862. Until 1881, though patronized by members throughout the State and elsewhere, its management was wholly with the original founders—the Indiana Yearly Meeting. In that year the responsibility and the control were shared, as they have been since, by the Western Yearly Meeting also, the school becoming thereby the representative of the largest body of Friends in America, and the principal school of the denomination west of the Alleghany Mountains.

From 1855 it has been co-educational both for sexes and races. For the first thirty years of its history its policy in all other respects was that of extreme conservatism. It eschewed the ways of the world, enforced plainness of dress, speech, and manners from students; was content with small numbers and a narrow field; had almost no endowment, but exacted a quality of teaching and learning, and a practical recognition of the regenerations of purity and integrity in life, that greatly exalt its service among those who best know the institution.

Ten years ago the endowments were increased, the course enriched and extended, new departments added, provisions made for new buildings, the appliances for teaching increased, and an aggressive educational movement begun.

The present endowment is something more than \$100,000, with \$300,000 in permanent improvements and lands. The faculty, including associates and assistants, numbers thirty. Seven parallel courses of study are offered, as follows: Ancient classics, modern classics, science, Latin and science,

mathematics, history, and English—representing fourteen fairly independent though co-ordinate departments of study, including, besides the usual ones, elocution and oratory, Biblical studies, drawing and painting, and music.

Besides well-selected though not large libraries, the college has one of the most complete and best-arranged cabinets in the State. It comprises twenty mounted skeletons, including one specimen each of the elephant, lion, horse, eagle, and python; more than two hundred stuffed specimens of birds and animals; more than a thousand specimens of shells and corals; two thousand specimens of palæontology and archæology (exclusive of a valuable collection of arrow-heads); a working herbarium, a collection of twelve hundred coins, besides a body of systematically collected and arranged articles gathered from missionary fields, and representative of the industries, implements, culture, and religions of various pagan peoples.

The college has had three presidents—Hon. Barnabas C. Hobbs, who resigned the position in 1868 to become State Superintendent; Prof. Joseph Moore, who is still connected with the institution, and who is to be chiefly credited with the collection and arrangement of the admirable cabinet; and the present president, Joseph John Mills. Among its alumni and students may be found an honorable record both among men and women. Of its two hundred and nineteen graduates, one hundred and thirteen, or more than half, are fairly classed as teachers.*

G. BUTLER UNIVERSITY.

As early as 1847 the need of an institution for higher learning among the Christian churches of the State was felt, and six years later its establishment agreed upon. In 1849 it was located at Indianapolis as the Northwestern Chris-

* For a number of interesting facts concerning Earlham College, and particularly its early history, and of Bloomingdale Academy, the author is indebted to a monograph, *Earlham College*, by Mr. E. D. Allen, of Fortville, Ind.

tian University. It was meant to be emphatically Christian, and be made equally open to both sexes. About \$100,000 had been subscribed, a board of directors elected by the holders of stock, and the institution opened for college classes in November, 1855. In 1873 the institution was removed to Irvington, a suburb of Indianapolis, and in 1877 the name changed to "Butler University."

Its present organization includes two regular courses of study, comprising, besides the Preparatory School, four co-ordinate collegiate departments, viz.: (1) Philosophy and Civics; (2) Languages; (3) The Sciences; and (4) Arts. The study of the Bible is required of all students through the Freshman and Sophomore years. Electives first appear in the Junior year. Women are admitted to all the classes of the University, subject to the same conditions and enjoying the same educational privileges as men. With the class of 1890 the institution had sent out three hundred and nine graduates.

H. UNION CHRISTIAN COLLEGE.

About 1850 the Merom Bluff Academy was founded at Merom, in Sullivan County. In 1858, at a convention of "Christians" in Peru, a new institution of collegiate rank was projected, finally located at Merom, and opened in 1860, absorbing the academy mentioned, and using to advantage its former patronage. The school is managed by a board of sixteen trustees, is liberally Christian, and patronized by students of various denominations, though chiefly by its own membership. It has a nominal endowment of about \$100,000. Rev. N. Summerbell was its first president.

Its organization comprises, besides the elementary and preparatory schools, a normal course, classical and scientific collegiate courses, a three years' theological course, and a graduate course in instrumental and vocal music. "A special feature of the curriculum lies in the fact that the Bible (in English, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin) is introduced as a text-book of daily work in the class-room, subject to regula-

tions requiring as thorough application, examinations, etc., as any branch of mathematics, science, language, or history."

Electives—a few—are allowed in the Junior and Senior years, and the usual degrees conferred.

I. MOORE'S HILL COLLEGE.

This institution was organized January 10, 1854, as Moore's Hill Collegiate Institute, under an independent board of trustees. A year and a half later the institution was adopted by the Southeastern Indiana Conference, and soon after the present name taken. It maintains a Preparatory Department, a Normal School, a Commercial Department, a Department of Music, an Art Department, and the College of Liberal Arts. Limited options are allowed in the course, from the close of the Sophomore year. Much emphasis is put upon the recently organized Normal School, and with great promise. About one fourth of the enrollment is credited to the college classes.

J. HARTSVILLE COLLEGE.

Hartsville College had its origin in the public school of District No. 7, Haw Creek Township, Bartholomew County, established by a vote of the householders, April, 1847. Two years later buildings and privileges were transferred to the Indiana Conference of the United Brethren in Christ, by whom a charter was obtained for the "Hartsville Academy"—an institution with power "to grant all such degrees in the sciences and arts as are customary in other such colleges, universities, or academies of the United States."

Prof. James McD. Miller was first president, the school opening May, 1850. Subsequently other conferences of the same denomination, both in Ohio and Michigan, joined in supporting the institution. Thirteen conferences now, in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Ontario, co-operate in its management. Almost immediately after the organization the school was rechartered "Hartsville University,"

which title it held until 1883, when it became in name, what since 1865 it had been in fact, "Hartsville College."

The school has been co-educational from the beginning, and for twenty-five years fairly collegiate in rank. At present it maintains (1) a Preparatory School, (2) a course in pedagogy, (3) a commercial course, (4) a course in music, and (5) two college courses—one in arts, leading to the degree of A. B., and one in science, followed by the degree of B. S.

K. UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME.

The University of Notre Dame is the leading Catholic superior institution in Indiana. It was founded by the Very Rev. Edward Sorin in 1842. It was organized under the Congregation of the Holy Cross, of which the founder was Superior-General. It is located about a mile north of South Bend, Ind., in the midst of a large and beautifully kept farm of six hundred acres. It was chartered by the General Assembly of Indiana in 1844. Five of its buildings were burned in 1877, but immediately rebuilt even more magnificently than before. These include the main building, in which are the Lemonnier Library of thirty thousand volumes, and a valuable collection of pamphlets; museums of science; art collections, including the famous Bishops' Gallery; and the Armory, consisting of one hundred and fifty stand of arms received from the State; the Music Hall, the Institute of Technology, the Gymnasium, an Infirmary, a Church, and dormitories sufficient to accommodate one thousand students. Although emphatically a Catholic institution, children of all denominations are admitted to its several courses. Indeed, it is well patronized by others than Catholics.

Its organization includes (1) the classical course, (2) the scientific course, (3) the English course, (4) a civil engineering course, (5) a mechanical engineering course, (6) a modern language course—each covering four years; (7) a course in law of three years; and (8) a commercial course and (9) a medical course, each two years. Besides, there is a

preparatory course of three years, and post-graduate courses in most departments, especially in philosophy, history, law, and physical science. The work in each course is definitely prescribed, but elective subjects are offered which may be taken by any student, "provided he can do so consistently with his regular studies." These are "extras," and are not granted as substitutes.

The courses in engineering comprise (1) theoretical engineering, (2) mechanical drawing, and (3) practical mechanics, including wood-working, the foundry, blacksmithing, and the machine-shops. These require from nine to twelve hours a week in the laboratory and workshop throughout the course.

The school enrolls from six hundred to seven hundred students, classed as seniors, comprising those over seventeen years of age; juniors, from thirteen to seventeen years; and minors, those under thirteen years. Recent catalogues show twenty professors, fourteen assistant professors, four preparatory teachers, and seven special instructors. The present president is the Rev. Thomas E. Walsh, C. S. C.

As in all Catholic schools, and particularly superior institutions, much attention has always been given to the cultivation of literary and oratorical power, and the practice of athletics. This is true in an unusual degree of Notre Dame. Of almost a dozen societies maintained at Notre Dame, three are recorded as religious—one, the "Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary," founded in 1845. It is open to juniors and seniors, and has for its object "to pray for the conversion of sinners, and persons in error." Among the more purely literary organizations may be mentioned as typical the "Philodemic Society" (1851), and "The Thespian Association" (1861), for the cultivation of "oratory, elocution, and the dramatic art." Besides these, and the like societies supported by the Law School, the institution has an admirably equipped gymnasium and a half-dozen athletic clubs, including foot and base ball, a boat club, the Hoynes Light Guards, and the Sorin Cadets.

As is true of all Catholic institutions, again, Notre Dame is without endowment (except as the farm may be so considered), and is maintained solely by fees. These vary from \$250 a year in the Minim Department to \$300 in the college proper, including, besides tuition, board, rooms, and laundry.

Among the alumni of Notre Dame are men eminent in every important interest—archbishops and bishops; Chief-Justice O'Brien; J. B. Walker, editor of the *Cosmopolitan*; Ballard Smith, of the *New York World*, etc.

L. ST. MEINRAD'S COLLEGE.

The only other Catholic collegiate institution in Indiana is situated at St. Meinrad, in the northeast corner of Spencer County. It was founded and has been conducted by the Benedictines. It was opened in 1857 as St. Meinrad's College, but reorganized January, 1890, and rechartered as St. Meinrad's Abbey. Only Catholics are admitted, and the institution seeks "to impart a solid classical and scientific education, based on strictly Catholic principles."

The organization comprises a preparatory course, the traditional classical course, the Seminary (theological), and the Scholasticate (introduction to the Benedictine Order). It differs from Notre Dame in being narrowly classical and humanistic, and in the emphasis put upon the theological studies. It has no shops, and teaches science but sparingly. The traditional standards of culture are zealously conserved. Its aim to give the severer discipline of the humanities is rigidly adhered to. Few schools can show a more honorable record. The old-time courses are preserved, and the earliest methods; but the training is specific and unquestioned—a scholarship of the classical type.

M. JASPER COLLEGE.

As if to relieve the extreme severity of this humanistic discipline, and in a way provide an education of a more practical sort for general patronage, there was founded by

the same order in 1889, and managed since by the St. Meinrad's Abbey, Jasper College, at Jasper, in Dubois County. It is managed in conjunction with the college at St. Meinrad, and is "empowered to grant and confer the usual academic degrees." Unlike St. Meinrad's, "the college is open to all, irrespective of religious persuasion, yet all are required, for the sake of uniformity and discipline, to attend the religious services of the house."

The course covers five years, admission to which requires that the boy (about twelve years of age) shall "know how to read, write, and spell creditably"; and in arithmetic, "be familiar with the four operations with whole numbers." It includes of German, and Christian Doctrine, four years each; Latin, Greek, and French, two years each; and some sort of text-book science throughout one year. The completion of the commercial course (three years) entitles one to the degree of Master of Accounts, and the scientific course to that of B. A. The degree of M. A. may be taken after three years of additional study in one of the professions, or in an advanced course in the liberal arts.*

N. THE MULTIPLICATION OF COLLEGES.

It has been suggested that with so many degree-giving institutions in Indiana the patronage has been unduly divided, and perhaps the standards lowered and learning diluted; but it does not necessarily follow that the large number of colleges is alone or chiefly responsible for the defect.

In itself considered, the multiplication of institutions for higher and liberal, classical, scientific, literary, and philosophical learning is a great and unquestioned blessing. It is a part of the spirit of the age, and in consonance with at least the recent policy of our own Commonwealth, to make easily available to every child the freest use of the best means of the largest and most generous culture. May the time soon come when every county in Indiana will feel the need

* A prospectus has just been distributed of St. Joseph's College, a Catholic institution, located (1891) at Rensselaer.

of a localized institution, giving a fuller culture than do our present high schools.

The colleges are needed, and more schools are needed, where college training may be had, and had at minimum expense; but there is also needed a public sentiment that shall sustain them liberally and for their public service, without a thought of the degrees they may confer—those loaves and fishes of academic fame; not because they serve to perpetuate exclusive institutions, but simply as a means toward fitting for larger and more efficient living and higher studies. All honor to the work of the little colleges! From them, found in both the East and West, came the men who, fifty years ago, gave us our professors, our school legislation, our educational system, our Normal School, college endowments, and that which is better still—an educated public sentiment favorable to schools and learning.

No factor is more helpful, also, in the improvement of the lower schools than abundant opportunities for higher learning. With a right public sentiment, these furnish the connecting link between the secondary schools and the real universities and professional seminaries. Indeed, it is the college—content to be a college, to do a college's duty, and to receive a college's reward—that alone makes the university of any founding possible. We have not too many schools in Indiana of any grade, where real work is done; the danger comes with the attempt to do college work with high-school facilities, and the distribution of university honors.

2. Denominational Academies.

Few of the churches, as has been elsewhere mentioned, maintain separate secondary schools, or any schools below collegiate grade; and yet the number of pupils enrolled in such institutions as are reported is more than twenty thousand. Two thirds of them, perhaps, are under elementary instruction.

Among the denominations so supporting independent academies are the Friends, with a dozen schools of mixed

grades (most of which are mentioned elsewhere), and enrolling a thousand pupils. The Methodists and Presbyterians have really no such schools apart from their colleges; though the Westminster School, in Fort Wayne, and Coates College, in Terre Haute, have Presbyterian connections; and the late Fort Wayne School (now Taylor University), and De Pauw College, New Albany (now co-educational and partially endowed), have had Methodist support and recognition. The Roanoke Classical Seminary is controlled by the United Brethren Church, and the Oakland City College by the General Baptists. The various branches of the Lutherans maintain more than eighty schools throughout the State, and report about five thousand pupils, a large majority of whom belong to the elementary classes in parochial schools. All other Protestant denominations together report about four thousand pupils.

The attendance upon Catholic elementary and secondary schools is about thirty thousand. Of these, thirty-five hundred are in a score or more of schools that may fairly be called secondary. Some of these are among the pioneer educational institutions of the State, "St. Mary's of the Woods," in Vigo County, being founded in 1840, and "St. Mary's Academy," at Notre Dame, in 1845. St. Mary's Academy, in Indianapolis, accommodates from four hundred to five hundred pupils, and a half-dozen other schools almost as many each.

It may fairly be estimated that the total school enrollment, both elementary and secondary, of the institutions under the direct control of the churches of the State is not less than forty thousand; of these, six thousand perhaps belong to the schools of academic rank, two thirds of the total number being under Roman Catholic influence. If to these numbers there be added the enrollment in private and normal schools, the State has, exclusive of occasional subscription classes taught in public school-houses, not less than fifty thousand pupils outside the public schools and colleges.

CHAPTER XXXII.

PRIVATE AND ENDOWED INSTITUTIONS.

OF all the institutions in Indiana established by private enterprise or beneficence, few have any endowment. The money given by individuals in aid of learning is no inconsiderable amount, but the beneficiaries have usually been either prospective or established denominational schools. A dozen higher schools in the State have received nearly three and a half millions of endowment, besides lands and buildings, more than five sixths of which have gone to denominational institutions.

Numerous attempts have been made, as may be gathered from the earlier pages of this sketch, to found and endow high-grade private or incorporated institutions; but they have generally failed. Of this class, either failing at once, or being soon abandoned, were La Porte University, the Western Literary and Scientific College, Clark University, the Richmond University, etc.

The most conspicuous instance of a successful endowed institution of this class is the Technological School at Terre Haute, and is a recent establishment.

1. Rose Polytechnic Institute.

The Rose Polytechnic Institute was founded in 1874, through the beneficence of Chauncy Rose, of Terre Haute, and is, with the exception of Purdue University, the only high-grade technical or industrial school in the State.

Instruction in this Terre Haute School of Industrial Science (as it was first called) was "to be based upon the practical mathematics, and the application of the physical sciences to the various arts and manufactures, together with other branches of active business; and was to include such training as would furnish the pupils with useful and practical knowledge of some art or occupation, and enable them to earn competent livings."

Mr. Rose was a pioneer, settling in Terre Haute in 1818. A man of little book-learning, but well informed, he was public-spirited, of sound judgment, shrewd in business, and a friend to every legitimate means of public improvement. At various times he made liberal contributions to Wabash College, to local aid societies, hospitals, and orphans' homes; and to the Newsboys' Home and other charitable institutions in New York city. He was chiefly instrumental in securing (what he did not himself furnish of) the money with which to build and equip what is now the Terre Haute and Indianapolis Railroad, the line from Evansville to Crawfordsville, and that from Terre Haute to Danville, Ill., from which ventures and investments he amassed a considerable fortune.

Interested in education generally, he was particularly solicitous that young men of real ability and enterprise should have opportunities, as he had not, to fit for the spheres of practical life. He would "blend the industrial sciences with the branches of knowledge usually taught in the schools and colleges, so that the pupils should not only become scholars in the ordinary sense, but should be enabled to follow the various mechanical, professional, and industrial pursuits with intelligence and skill." To this end was the institution founded.

The total gifts from Mr. Rose of lands, buildings, and equipments prior to his death, which occurred in August, 1877, amounted to \$345,615. Two years before, by order of the Board of Trustees, the name of the institution was changed to that which it now bears. By will, the institute was made his residuary legatee, making the total benefaction not less than half a million dollars.

Under the conditions of the gift, the principal could not be expended; and it was not until 1883 that the school was ready to open. Dr. Charles O. Thompson had been chosen president. He had been for fifteen years at the head of the Worcester Free Institute, in Massachusetts, and brought to his new field a large scholarship, an individual fitness, and

professional insight that greatly dignified the new enterprise. His short service of two years (he died in 1885) had honored Indiana, improved the educational thought, and made the currents of culture flow more smoothly, as his death deprived the State of one of its most distinguished teachers. He was succeeded by Dr. T. C. Mendenhall, of Ohio State University, who was no less distinguished, and who equally honored the institution and the course of education, and who left the State in 1890, after five years, to accept a Federal appointment as Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey. The present president is Dr. H. T. Eddy, recently of the University of Cincinnati.

The organization of the institution comprises three courses: (1) Mechanical Engineering (including Electrical Engineering); (2) Civil Engineering; (3) Chemistry. Each course covers a period of four years, including, besides recitations and lectures, laboratory work and shop practice. Elaborate courses are offered in drawing, and four years in language, including English, German, and French. "All members of the Freshman class practice in the workshop until the beginning of the third term, when the election of courses is made. During the third term, those who elect civil engineering spend eight hours per week in the machine-shop, and the remaining part of the practice time in civil engineering. Those who elect chemistry spend all the remaining time in the chemical laboratory."

The engineering laboratory is supplied with the best known forms of apparatus, comprising two engines, numerous dynamometers, testing machines, standard bars, balances, electric chronographs, etc. The polytechnic shops have accommodations for a hundred boys, with the most perfect machinery equipment. The apparatus for the study of electrical engineering is very complete.

For admission to the school, candidates must be sixteen years old, and show a fair proficiency in all the common branches; algebra to quadratic equations, and plane geometry. The institution enrolls about one hundred and fifty,

and since 1885 (the first class) has graduated forty-six. Of these, ten are electricians, or are in the employ of electrical companies; eight are engaged in some form of manufacturing; six are in trade; eight are connected with the railroads, either as engineers or in clerical or official capacity; three are mechanics, and three civil engineers; and one each engaged in mining, architecture, and instruction in engineering. Two are lawyers, and two are pursuing advanced courses in technology.

The aim of the school is simple, offering to young men "a good education based on the mathematics, living languages, physical sciences, and drawing, together with a practical training in and a familiarity with some form of applied science." Neither Greek nor Latin is taught. The results have been very satisfactory.

2. Vincennes University.

One other institution should, perhaps, be considered as belonging to this class of schools. This is the Vincennes University. While not denominational or private, it is not a public school, as that term is understood in Indiana by the present generation. As has been noted elsewhere, it was founded by the State, upon a grant of the congressional township for seminary purposes, during its territorial period; is managed by a self-perpetuating board; and, except for a part of the time from 1822 to 1840, it has had existence as a school for more than eighty years.

By act of the Legislature in 1822 the Gibson County lands, theretofore held for the Vincennes school, were ordered sold for the benefit of the recently established State Seminary at Bloomington. From the sale the latter institution realized about \$25,000, which, with interest, was returned to the former by a decision of the Supreme Court in 1854. The total endowment from this source, aggregating \$40,000, was somewhat increased in 1873 by a grant of certain unsold public lands in Knox County, the total fund yielding an annual revenue of about \$4,000.

The course includes, besides the usual academic subjects, instrumental and vocal music, voice and physical culture, elocution and art; and fits for the junior work in the regular university course. Its present faculty numbers twelve, with Enoch A. Bryan as President.

3. Independent Normal Schools.

Within twenty years in Indiana have grown up schools of unique character, styled by their promoters and disciples "Independent Normals," somewhat after the type of the "National Normal School" at Lebanon, Ohio, under the management of the Holbrooks. They are institutions greatly unlike most other schools in organization and aim, and in their aggressiveness belong to the last decade. Many, but not all of them, claim collegiate standing, confer degrees, include preparatory or secondary, special, university, and professional schools under one control, and enroll hundreds of students. They are all private (independent), and while occasionally receiving aid from the localities, are sustained by the fees of students.

Their courses, while differing greatly in details, are fairly uniform in their general features. All of them, so far as is known, maintain classes in the common or legal branches, doing elementary work such as may be found in any upper-grade school; secondary classes, such as belong to the average high school; business courses, including book-keeping, phonography, sometimes type-writing, and brief courses in surveying. Some of them offer also special training in music, fine art, drawing, elocution, and oratory. Besides these, most schools offer classical and scientific collegiate courses, special instruction in surveying and business, and sometimes in engineering. Ridgeville announces eleven courses; Rushville, eight; Danville, eight; and Valparaiso eleven, including law and medicine. Both the courses and the schools show varying degrees of efficiency.

While unlike in certain respects, the general plan is the same among all. The complete "course" covers about four

years. The first year appears as either the "preparatory" or "teachers'" course, according to the purpose of the student, the latter differing from the former in no essential respect except that it is made to include one to three terms of "professional" work. The subjects are those of the common school, with sometimes algebra and something of elementary science added. The second and third years constitute the "scientific course," and are given to secondary work, including more of mathematics and science, and a little extra time devoted to English and history. The "classical" course comprises the work of the fourth year, and includes, besides an extension of the Latin, the beginning of Greek and the reading of Xenophon, Homer, Æschylus, and the Greek Testament.

The character of the schools, or their aim, as fixed by their founders, varies. They are now "Teachers' Schools" or "Business Schools," "Colleges," or "Universities"; sometimes only "High Schools." One manual points out the aim of the institution "to make a higher education possible to the masses." Another says: "The school does not aim to occupy the sphere of the literary colleges, but offers a practical course of study to young and old, fitting them for teaching, for business, for the study of law, medicine, or theology, or for good work in any other vocation." Still a third advertises "not only all the advantages of the best normal schools, but opportunities of accomplishing the same work as is done at the best colleges," in from one half to three fourths of the usual time. While most of them are purely academic institutions, a few add professional instruction—in law and medicine—and generally something of teaching. The subjects, also, included in any course vary with the maker of the course. There is no considerable uniformity either of subject matter or sequence. Every school is "independent"—a law unto itself. Within the same school, indeed, every department is almost equally independent. One institution, for example, announces that "the classical course can be completed in a hundred weeks"; the teachers' course in

twenty or thirty. This only assumes proficiency in the elementary subjects as a preparation.

Notwithstanding all of which, however, there appear certain features more or less common to all of the schools.

1. Among these marks may be noted the continuance of instruction throughout the year; making the advantages of the school available to a greater number, and especially to teachers and others employed for a portion of the year.

2. The terms are made short (but eight to ten weeks), and classes in all the elementary, and certain higher branches, much in demand, are organized each term, or at various times in the year—adjusting the work to students of unequal attainment.

3. In this way the length of a full course may be reduced to three years, and the subjects be all gone over.

4. Again, in theory at least, an emphasis is put upon the so-called practical subjects, the arts and applied sciences. What students intend to do after leaving school shall determine their work in school.

5. The selection of this work is left to the preference of the learner. From the time when the elementary subjects are finished, large, almost unrestricted, options are accorded to all students.

6. This large individual freedom in the choice of subjects is perhaps but part of a more fundamental trait of these schools, which eschew all prescription and restraint in matters of deportment as well as instruction. Government is reduced to a minimum. Regulations are few. Adaptation to the conventionalities is individual and from choice, or not at all.

7. Finally, in a reduction of expenses, another claim is made to distinction by these schools—the total expenses for a year of fifty weeks varying from \$100 to \$175 per student.

The following list is meant to be complete of the institutions of this class now in operation. A half dozen of them only, perhaps, have an established reputation; the few are widely known:

Table of "Independent Normal Schools."

1. Northern Indiana Normal	1873	Valparaiso.
2. Central Indiana Normal School	1876	Ladoga.
3. Central Normal College and Com. Institute	1876	Danville.
4. Indiana Normal College	1885	Covington.
5. Southern Indiana Normal College	1880	Mitchell.
6. Borden Institute	1884	Borden (New Providence).
7. Tri-State Normal College	1885	Angola.
8. Southern Indiana Normal College	1888	Princeton.
9. Marion Normal College	1889	Marion.
10. Academic and Musical Institute	1890	Rushville.
11. Ridgeville College and Indiana Normal School ..	1867 (1890)	Ridgeville.
12. Normal and Classical Institute	1891	Muncie.
13. Indiana Normal University	1890	Evansville.
14. Normal School and Business Institute	1889	Columbus.
15. Hope Normal School .....	....	Hope.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS.

No single agency has done more, perhaps, toward building up our schools than the public, more or less professional, voluntary and free conference of friends of education upon improving the system. These gatherings of teachers and public-spirited citizens began early in the State's history, and their all-sided, frank, and sometimes acrimonious discussion of the ways and means in school organization and administration was chiefly responsible for the system worked out.

These societies or conventions were of two kinds: those having for their purpose the creation of a public sentiment favorable to an aggressive educational movement, which were general and grew out of the exigencies of the time, and the more purely professional ones, more or less exclusive, and looking first to the improvement of the teaching body. The former were participated in and drew their in-

spiration from this same class, but were re-enforced by an active interest from the clergymen, the lawyers, the tradesmen, and the farming class as well, by whose influence schools, not a few, were founded, and laws enacted.

1. General Associations.

As early as 1836, before there was a semblance of a school system in the State, such a convention was held in Indianapolis during the session of the Legislature. Governor Noble presided. President Andrew Wylie, of Bloomington, delivered the principal address; James G. May, another. R. W. Thompson, Moses H. Wilder, and others were present. It was a notable gathering.

Eight years after, there was formed in the East the National Board of Popular Education, with Governor Slade, of Vermont, as President, and having a Western agency at Cincinnati managed by Miss Catherine E. Beecher. The organization collected companies of teachers semi-annually at Hartford, Conn., carried them through a six weeks' or two months' special training (a sort of normal school), and brought them by their agents to places already provided in the Northwest, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Within four years a hundred had been thus sent out, nearly one half of whom found positions in Indiana.

President Slade visited Indianapolis in 1845, a meeting was held, an organization effected, and a committee—consisting of Hon. Isaac Blackford, James Blake, James P. Coburn, Calvin Fletcher, and others—appointed to ascertain the extent of the demand for teachers in Indiana and co-operate with the general organization. Altogether, it is estimated that more than one hundred teachers were so furnished to Indiana. It was an early form of the modern teachers' bureau, under conditions that made it greatly needed. The Western Baptist Educational Association, operating about the same period, though originating in the East, sought "to promote schools and education generally in the Valley of the Mississippi," and distributed educa-

tional documents and placed teachers in both Indiana and Illinois.

In May (26-28), 1847, a State Common School Convention was held at Indianapolis, similar to that eleven years before. It met to consider the needs of legislation, and was a working body. There were Henry Ward Beecher, J. P. Coburn, Ovid Butler, O. H. Smith, Rev. E. R. Ames, and others. Hon. Isaac Blackford, present again, was the presiding officer. A committee of seven was appointed, of which Rev. E. R. Ames was chairman, to prepare for distribution an address, and to lay it before the Governor and the next Legislature. The session lasted three days, and adjourned to meet December 8th of the same year.

A correspondent of a Chicago paper, who was present at the meeting, said in his report: "It was certainly one of the most extensive voluntary assemblies, expressly identified with the important interest of popular education, which I have ever attended East or West. The cream of the intelligence and virtue of Indiana was there collected; governors, judges, congressmen, lawyers, presidents and professors of colleges, teachers of seminaries and common schools, ministers of various denominations, and other patrons deeply interested in the subject of public instruction, were convened and inspired by a common impulse." Its spirit and purpose were everywhere commended.

At this meeting the report of the committee was heard, which included, besides a statistical and critical and elaborate address, a bill ready framed, which it was proposed to submit to the Legislature. The session was held in the House of Representatives, and there were present, besides prominent educators from the central counties, members of both Houses of the Legislature. After much discussion a bill was finally agreed upon, which, being presented to the Legislature, though not passed, led to the submission of the question of free schools to the people at the polls in August of the year following (1848). What most concerns us in this connection is that at this meeting was formed a State

Educational Society, having the same purpose, but a permanent organization. In May following was held the first meeting under the new control, the third of this series of State conventions. It had the added sanction of a joint resolution of the General Assembly recommending such conference.

Whether the people of the State were favorable to a system of free schools was to be determined at the polls in August; and the educational convention appointed a committee of five—consisting of the Rev. T. C. Holloway, James H. Henry, Esq., Hon. Jeremiah Sullivan, Charles Test, and J. L. Jernegan—to prepare an address to the voters of the State. This trust was admirably executed by the committee, the newspapers generally published the appeal, and Judge Kinney was appointed and employed by the society as a special agent “to travel through the State, deliver addresses, and endeavor to awaken an interest in behalf of free common schools.” Upon the assumption that if the cause were properly understood free schools had nothing to fear, it was recommended to friends of education that meetings be held in every town and neighborhood in the State previous to the August election. Many such meetings were held, and it is safe to say that never was the State more thoroughly canvassed for educational purposes under equally unfavorable conditions; notwithstanding which a majority of the counties were not reached at all.

No record has been found of further meetings of this or any similar body. The August vote had been sixteen thousand in favor of free schools, and the campaign became local, through counties or by districts, though more professional, and finally took form in the State Association in 1854.

2. Teachers' Organizations.

As early as 1838 it is found that in certain counties teachers were already accustomed to occasional meetings for the purpose of self-improvement and the public discussion of vital questions in life and culture. The Governor's message

of that year makes mention of some such, and particularly commends those in Wayne County as "gotten up in the right way, breathing the right spirit, and showing that they (teachers) entertain a just and becoming sense of the dignity and importance of their profession." This last is known to have been continued for ten years, and perhaps longer. In 1846 the Common School Advocate speaks of it as "the only educational society in the State."

Three years after, in October, 1849, there was held at Mishawaka, under the direction of Prof. Sweet, of New York, the first of a series of meetings that in the spring of 1851 were brought under a permanent organization, as the "Northern Indiana Teachers' Institute." Two such institutes were held in La Porte in 1850, and, in the three years following, similar ones in a dozen cities in northern Indiana and along the Wabash. The sessions continued two weeks, and had the leadership of such men as Silas T. Bowen, Albert D. Wright, Rufus Patch, and Benjamin F. Taylor. In 1853, teachers from southern Michigan joined in the movement. The original organization undertook the publication of a paper, but it seems not to have been successful. It also recommended and was instrumental in introducing into the schools of adjacent cities and towns a selected list of school-texts. It was said, indeed, in 1853, that "the principal schools in more than one third of the counties of the State had adopted them."

In southern Indiana, also, teachers developed a kindred interest in their profession. A meeting was held at Shelbyville, in the early part of 1854, at which were present, among others, Prof. George A. Chase, so long and favorably known in southern Indiana and in Louisville; A. J. Vawter, E. P. Cole, Charles Barnes, Rev. E. Kent, and Prof. Caleb Mills. A few months later a second meeting was held at Salem. At both places resolutions were passed expressive of the need, and recommending the organization of, a State association.

A preliminary meeting was held at which were present Prof. Mills, Prof. Cole, and others, at Indianapolis, in No-

vember, 1854, and a circular to teachers prepared, including a programme of exercises, and calling a meeting for December 25, 1854. The invitation when sent out had nineteen signatures, promised reduced rates on the railroads, free entertainment, and announced distinguished educators from abroad. The meeting was held, practically as announced; Rev. William M. Daily presided. There were one hundred and seventy-two members, representing thirty-three counties, chiefly in central and southern Indiana, and a half-dozen names on the programme, any one of which would have dignified the entire meeting. Besides Prof. Brainerd, who pleaded for a recognition of drawing, and Dr. Lord, who expounded the doctrine of graded schools, there were Dr. Breckenridge (the author of the common-school system of Kentucky), Hon. E. D. Mansfield, of Ohio, and Horace Mann—lawyer, legislator, and teacher. The organization has continued without interruption since, holding two sessions in each of the four years from 1856 to 1859 inclusive, and annual sessions subsequently.

From the first it took, as it long held, the leadership in educational discussion and all progressive movements. It was a sort of rallying point for the best thought of all classes throughout the State. "All the advanced movements," says Prof. Hoss,* "were here discussed and encouraged, and in many cases directed by the association, not a few originating with it. Institutes, the normal school, the journal, the reform school, colored schools; superintendency in county, city, and State; taxation, school architecture, and the like, including almost all possible phases of professional work, all here received attention—some their chief impulse." To these might be added, as occurring in more recent years, the creation of the Teachers' and Young Peoples' Reading Circles of the State. Of both these the association has general direction, through the annual appointment of directors for their management.

* Schools of Indiana, p. 119.

At various times in its history the general association has organized special sections among its members. Such have been the college section, now become an independent body; the high-school section, whose conferences with college men in twenty years have done so much to integrate the system, and relate the work of the secondary and collegiate schools; and more recently the country and village school section, having in view the common interests of elementary teachers outside of cities.

3. Sectional Associations.

Among general associations, further, there are in Indiana, in addition to the State organization, four others that represent sections of the State, and have a well-established record of service. In point of time the first of these is the Southern Indiana Teachers' Association, which held its first meeting about 1876. Its sessions, for some years semi annual, have for several years been held each spring, are often largely attended, and generally by the grade teachers as well as the superintendents and principals. It is a migratory body, appointing its meetings in turn at cities in southern and south-eastern Indiana, from Terre Haute to Lawrenceburg. Its free discussion and close touch with the schools have united the teachers of this section of the State as teachers are bound together in no other part.

A similar one is known as the Northern Indiana Teachers' Association, organized some four years later, but whose sessions since 1883 have been regularly held. Its meetings are similar to those last mentioned, but until recently had been patronized by the supervisors and principals rather than by teachers. As a result the discussions are more general, regard education rather than teaching, and, while dealing with fundamentals, are yet less likely to appeal to the average teacher.

Another such body is the Ohio and Indiana Superintendents' Association, holding semi-annual meetings alternately in each State, in the spring and in the fall. The first gath-

ering of the kind was a conference of superintendents at Fort Wayne in 1876. It then included school-men from not only Indiana and Ohio, along the border, but some from Michigan and Illinois as well. Smart and Harvey and Bragg and White and Irwin and Ross and Tarbell and Bloss and others were present. Within ten years the territory has been greatly restricted. The organization now includes the city and county superintendents of the eastern part of the State, with those across the line in Ohio. The machinery of the body is simple, the discussions are informal, and aim to be chiefly practical, though comprehensive of all school relations. Corresponding closely to this in form and purpose is the Southern Indiana and Kentucky Superintendents' Association. It has but recently been organized (1885), and, like the former, is chiefly given to the discussion of questions relating to the functions and relations of the school superintendent, and the nature and conditions of the most helpful inspection. It has held a dozen meetings, and the general good effect of their discussions is shown in the improvement of the schools.

4. The County Superintendents' Convention.

Besides the general superintendents' associations, just mentioned, to which also they are eligible in the different sections, the county superintendents have had, since 1873, their own annual convention for the consideration of matters pertaining to the management of the rural schools in particular.

In 1862, at the instance of Superintendent Hoshour, the county examiners were called together. The principal topics of discussion were the examination of teachers and the visitation of schools. This was the beginning of that closer supervision of country schools that has made Indiana favorably known throughout the States. The next convention was in 1866, at the suggestion of State Superintendent Hoss. These discussions were somewhat more formal and more comprehensive; the meeting was called for a more definite

purpose. The weak points of the system were becoming yearly more manifest. The examiners were called in council. Upon the close of a protracted and very free discussion, resolutions were passed in favor of "establishing a county board of education, of admitting colored children to the benefits of free schools, and of reviving the provision for the levying of a special tuition tax." The accomplishment of all these objects finally was greatly due to the influence of this body.

At the special session of the State Normal School, in 1870, a "State Examiners' Association" was formed, officers were elected, an interesting programme was prepared, and a meeting held during the holiday session of the State Teachers' Association. Nothing appears of its further meetings.

Another convention was called by the Hon. Milton B. Hopkins in July, 1873. The new law transforming the old county examiner into a superintendent, the creation of a County Board of Education, and with other changes, had just gone into effect, and the conference with Superintendent Hopkins, his clear exposition of the law, and the exchange of local and personal views, did much to facilitate the confidence in and administration of the system. The improvement and use of township libraries were considered, school-houses and furniture, text books and tuition taxes, examinations, the County Board of Education, county and township institutes, and official reports. Such meetings were continued, and gave new life to the system. Since 1873 the meetings have been annual. They convene at the call of the State Superintendent, usually in June, the programme being arranged by a committee of the convention.

5. The College Association.

A meeting of the college faculties of the State was convened upon invitation of Superintendent G. W. Hoss in December, 1867, in conjunction with the State Teachers' Association. A permanent organization was effected under the name of the Indiana Collegiate Association, which lived

on, in a way, for years, holding annual sessions until 1874, when it became a section of the general association. As a subordinate organization its life was neither more peaceful nor fruitful, and after a few years it ceased to exist. It was immediately reorganized, however, and has held flourishing annual meetings since 1877. The following colleges are represented in its proceedings, each being entitled, in alternate years, to one place upon the programme, for which a delegate is sent by appointment of the faculty. These institutions are Indiana University, Hanover College, Wabash College, De Pauw University, Butler University, Rose Polytechnic Institute, Purdue University, the State Normal School, Franklin College, Earlham College, Moore's Hill College, and Vincennes University.

6. The Indiana Academy of Science.

Among other organizations of this class that may fairly be called educational or professional for educators is the Indiana Academy of Science, dating from 1885, and holding semi-annual meetings. Any scientist of the State, or teachers of, or others interested in science, are eligible to membership. Its members number about thirty, and include representatives from not only the colleges, but high schools and academies throughout the State.

7. The State Mathematical Association.

Two years since (1889) was organized a State Mathematical Association, whose primary purpose was said to be to consider not only the nature and problems of mathematics, but its character and value as an instrument of culture, and the methods and conditions of its teaching. Its membership is composed chiefly of professors of mathematics in the colleges, instructors in the subject in the better secondary and preparatory schools, and all such as are interested in the philosophy and pedagogy of the subject. Such meetings as have been held, kept up through the years, will do much to reform the teaching and study of mathematics of every grade

in schools of whatever rank. Every teacher is concerned in its permanent success.

8. County Teachers' Associations.

Unlike the County Institute, and somewhat different from the earlier local bodies, are the recent county associations. The sessions are shorter than those of the County Institute, and subject to local management. The organization is voluntary, and the exercises and discussions are chiefly carried on by the teachers themselves rather than for them. The meetings usually occur during one of the term vacations, as at Thanksgiving, the winter holidays, or in the spring. In some counties they are semi-annual. One evening lecture, generally by an invited speaker, and two days of conference upon practical school questions, make up the average programme. Being voluntary organizations, statistics of them are not to be had. It is estimated, however, that they are common to two thirds of the counties of the State, with an annual average attendance of not less than ten thousand teachers.

CONCLUSION.

THIS volume has been prepared with the conviction that teachers may fairly be held responsible for knowing the system in which they work. Its early adversity and comparative failure, but conjoined with an unwavering faith of our fathers in the wholesomeness of liberal learning, present suggestive lessons in the economics of public education. The subsequent achievement and abundant productiveness and efficiency of the system are inspiring and full of promise.

The Indiana teacher has no ground for shame in the presence of the progress made within a generation, in the school-room, among teachers, in the public standards of mo-

rality and virtue, of industry and patriotism, incident to the services of the public school. The growth in civilization and refinement here, as elsewhere, has been slow enough and meager enough, but the place of the State is an honorable one among American Commonwealths, and may rightly be taken as the occasion of congratulation.

Words of criticism have been freely used where in the judgment of the author they seemed warranted; but it must not thereby be inferred that there has been wanting any appreciation of the sound and wholesome growth in schools and the sustaining public sentiment, or respect—aye, and reverence—for the self-denying fathers and homes and early institutions that, amid forests and wild beasts and poverty, and other impediments of a pioneer life, planned and carried to execution so efficient a system. History can not adequately reveal nor literature exaggerate the noble, unselfish service, the heroic philanthropy and large-hearted patriotism of these frontier settlers who exchanged comforts for schools, and shared necessities to secure to us luxuries.

That the backless bench, and the few and poor books, and the wandering teachers and short terms, and appalling ignorance, have practically disappeared is due, we can afford to remember, more to them than to us who remain. In honoring them we honor ourselves.

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